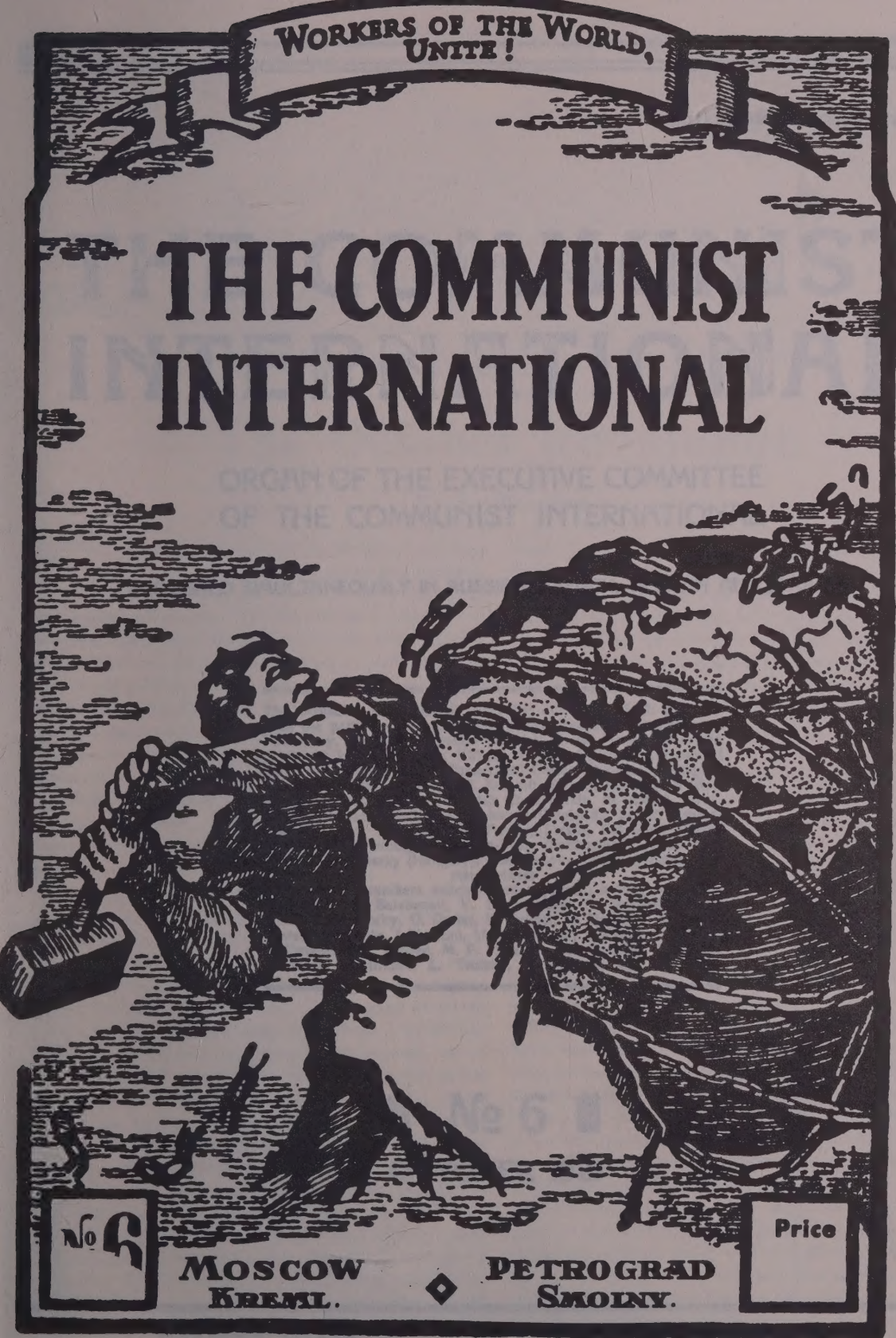
WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
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THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED SIMULTANEOUSLY IN RUSSIAN, FRENCH, GERMAN AND ENGLISH.

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The October Revolution

By L. Trotzky

THE second anniversary of the October revolution recalls to my mind one of its instructive features, which, so far, has not been adequately dealt with in memoirs and articles. The October revolution was, so to speak, fixed beforehand for a definite date—October 25th. This was done not at any secret gathering, but openly and publicly, and the victorious rising took place on October 25th, 1917, the date fixed. World history knows a good many revolutions and insurrections, but memory searches in vain for another revolt of the oppressed class, which had been fixed beforehand for a certain date, fixed publicly, and carried out victoriously at the appointed hour. In this sense as well as in a good many others the October revolution is unique and incomparable.

The coup d'état at Petrograd was meant to coincide with the Second Congress of the Soviets. This coincidence was not due to any conspirative schemes, it was a logical consequence of the whole preceding course of the revolution in general, and of the work of agitation and organisation carried out by the party. We demand all power for the Soviets. The majority of members in all the important Soviets joined our party in this demand, consequently we could on longer "demand" power, for, as the leading party in the Soviets we had to *take* that power in our own hands. We had no doubt that the Second Congress of Soviets would give us a majority. Even our enemies could not entertain any doubts as to that. The latter tried their utmost to prevent the meeting of the Second Congress. Thus at the meeting of the Soviet section of the "Democratic Assembly" Dan tried by every means to prevent the summoning of the Second Congress of Soviets, and when he failed in this, tried to postpone it. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries stated that they opposed the summoning of the Congress of Soviets precisely because the congress could become the scene of a Bolshevik coup d'état. We, on our part, insisted on the summoning of the congress as soon as possible, and did not conceal the fact that in our opinion the congress was necessary precisely for the purpose of seizing power from the hands of Kèrensky. Finally, at the election of the Soviet section of the "Democratic Convention" Dan succeeded in postponing the date of the opening from the 15th to the 25th of October. The opportunist Menshevik politician thus succeeded in cheating history of precisely ten days.

At all the Petrograd meetings both of workers and of soldiers we put the question in the following manner; The second All Russian Congress of Soviets will meet on the 25th of October; the proletariat and the garrison of Petrograd will then demand of the congress that it should decide the question of government and decide it in the sense that the power should immediately be placed in the hands of the All Russian Congress of Soviets; if the Kèrensky government attempts to disperse the Soviets—using the words of innumerable resolutions—the Petrograd garrison will say its last word.

The agitation went forward day by day. The congress was fixed for October 25th, and the first, and, indeed, the only item on the agenda was the transfer (note, not the discussion, but the transfer itself) of power to the Soviets, i. e., we have October 25th the date of the coup d'état and openly, in the face of "society" and its "government" prepared an armed force for that revolution.

The preparations for the congress were closely bound with the question of taking a considerable part of the garrison out of Petrograd. Kèrensky was afraid of the Petrograd soldiers (and with complete justification). He ordered Cheremissov, who was then commanding the northern army, to call the unreliable regiments to the front. Cheremissov, as is revealed by the correspondence found after October 26th, endeavoured to avoid

it, as he regarded the Petrograd garrison as "poisoned by propaganda," and therefore useless in an imperialist war. But Cheremissov, under pressure of Kèrensky, who was guided by purely political motives, had to issue the desired order.

As soon as the decree of the Petrograd staff concerning the removal of the regiments was issued to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, it became clear to us, the representatives of the proletarian opposition, that this question in its subsequent development may be of a decisive political significance. In the restless expectation of the coup d'état appointed for the 25th of October, Kèrensky made an attempt to disarm the mutinous Petrograd regiment. We were forced to call not only on all the workers but on the whole of the garrison to oppose the Kèrensky government. First of all it was decided to form a committee in the shape of a revolutionary war committee for the verification of the military reasons which led to the order of the removal of the Petrograd garrison. Thus a revolutionary executive staff of the garrison was formed side by side with the political representation of the garrison (the soldiers' section of the Soviet).

The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries again "guessed" that an armed uprising was being prepared and openly talked about it at the meetings of the Soviet. Having voted against the formation of the Revolutionary War Committee, the Mensheviks, however, entered it as members, as something in the nature of notaries or persons of the coup d'état. Having previously snatched the extra ten days for their political existence, they thus secured for themselves the right to be present as honorary assessors at their political funeral.

Thus the congress was fixed for the 25th of October. The party that secured the majority in it gave the congress the lead to take power in its hands. The garrison, refusing to leave Petrograd, was mobilised in the defense of the forthcoming congress. The Revolutionary War Committee, opposed to the staff of the district, was transformed into the revolutonary staff of the Petrograd Soviet. All this was done quite openly, in the sight of the whole of Petrograd, the Kèrensky government and the whole world. It is an event unique of its kind.

At the same time the party circles and the press openly discussed the question of an armed rebellion. It was discussed more or less abstractly, hardly in connection with the congress or the removal of the garrison, but as a previously prepared plot. We not only "recognised" the armed rising, but we prepared it for a certain moment, so that even its character was predetermined—at least, in Petrograd—by the temper of the garrison and its attitude to the Congress of Soviets.

Some comrades were sceptical of the possibility of a revolution being fixed for a certain date. It looked safer to carry it out secretly, making use of the important advantage of surprise. It seemed that if Kèrensky was warned of the 25th of October he could bring up reenforcements for that date, and could purge the garrison of all undesirable elements, etc.

But the fact of the matter was that the question of changing the compostion of the Petrograd garrison became the crucial point of the coming revolution. Kèrensky's attempt to change the composition of the Petrograd regiments was estimated beforehand—and quite rightly—as a continuation of the Kornilov affair. Moreover, a "legalised" uprising had the effect of hypnotising the enemy. Kèrensky did not fully carry out his order concerning the sending of the garrison to the front. This raised the self-assurance of the soldiers and made the success of the uprising even more certain. After the revolution of the 25th of October the Mensheviks, headed by Martov, talked a great deal about "the coup d'état by a handful of conspirators acting behind the back of the Soviet and the working class." It is difficult to imagine a more wicked or a more transparent perversion of facts. When at the meeting of the Soviet Section of the "Democratic Assembly" our majority fixed the Congress of Soviets for October 25th, the Mensheviks said: "You are appointing a revolution." When we, who represented the overwhelming majority of the Petrograd Soviet, refused to remove the Petrograd regiments, the Mensheviks said: "This is the beginning of an armed uprising." When we created the Revolutionary War Committee the Mensheviks stated: "This is the apparatus for an armed uprising." And, when, on the appointed day, with the aid of the detected apparatus, the uprising—of which due warning had been given—had actually taken place, the same Mensheviks cried out: "A handful of conspirators have made the revolution behind the back of the working class." What we can, indeed, be accused of is merely that in the Revolutionary War Committee we were working out some technical details "behind the back" of the Menshevik assessors.

We can take it for granted that an attempt to carry out a military plot, independent of the Second Congress of Soviets and the Revolutionary War Committee could at that period only have disturbed the course of events, it could even have temporarily prevented the revolution from taking place at that time. The garrison, which comprised some politically undefined regiments, would regard the seizure of power by a party as something strange. Some regiments would regard it as something inimical to themselves. On the other hand the refusal to leave Petrograd and the decision to take up arms in the defense of the Congress of Soviets, which was destined to become the government of the country, was a matter at once perfectly natural, intelligible and binding for the same regiments. Those comrades who regarded it as utopian to "fix" the date of the rising, were in reality undervaluing our strength and the power of our political influence at Petrograd, compared to the government of

Kèrensky. The legally existing Revolutionary War Committee appointed its commissaries to all the units of the Petrograd garrison, and thus became, in every sense, complete master of the situtation. We had the political map of the garrison before our eyes. We had the possibility at any given moment to draw the necessary forces and secure all the strategic points in Petrograd. There only remained the elimination of friction and the possible resistance of the backward, mainly cavalry detachments. The work went on excellently. At the meetings of the regiments, our slogan: "Don't leave Petrograd before the Congress of Soviets" and "Secure all power to the Soviets by armed force," met with universal approval. In the most conservative Semenov regiment, Skobelev and Gotz, who were trying on them their latest dodge—the coming diplomatic journey of Skobelev to Paris for the purpose of educating Lloyd George and Clemenceau—not only met no response, but suffered a crushing defeat. Most of them voted for our resolution. At the Cirque Moderne, at a meeting of the motorists, who were regarded as the mainstay of Kèrensky, our resolution was accepted by an overwhelming majorty. The Quartermaster General, Paradelov, spoke in a very conciliatory and ingratiating manner, but his evasive amendments and resolutions were rejected.

The last blow was given to the enemy in the very heart of Petrograd—in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. Observing the tempes of the fortress garrison, which in its entirety took part in our meeting in the courtyard of the fortress, the assistant commander of the district offerd to us in the kindliest possible manner to "talk matters over and remove any misunderstandings." We, on our part, promised to take the necessary measures for the complete removal of misunderstandings. And, indeed, two or three days later the Kèrensky government—that greatest misunderstanding in the history of the Russian revolution—was removed.

History has turned over a new leaf and opened the chapter at the Soviets.

Balashov-Sebriakovo,
September 14th, 1919.

The First Proletarian Government

By A. Joffe

IN the smoke and fire of revolutionary events, when the seething activity of the masses is at its height, to give a precise account of the course of events, it is difficult to recollect the separate episodes in their pragmatic consecutiveness.

I remember that when in a gathering of persons, who, from the very beginning, took a leading part in the revolution, the question was raised as to who invented the titles "People's Commissary" and the "Council of People's Commissaries," it was only after long disputes and exchanges of reminiscences that it was established that the proposal to introduce these titles emanated from L. D. Trotsky.

Not only events themselves, but even separate proposals, decisions, etc., seemed to eminate not from individual persons but from the whole revolutionary mass. They seemed to be the result of the elemental grouwth of the revolution.

This is especially true with regard to an organisation like the Revolutionary War Committee, which was formed for the defense of the revolution, but very soon became its organising body. When general sabotage reigned in the whole of the old state apparatus, it became the only government, for it combined in itself all the functions of the state. This only lasted for a short time, for the proletarian revolution soon succeeded in breaking the sabotage and set the state apparatus in motion.

There was a moment in the revolution, however, when no apparatus existed, and when all state affairs were dealt with by the Revolutionary War Committee, which consequently can claim the title of the First Revolutionary Proletarian Government.

The idea of creating the Revolutionary War Council first originated in the days of Kornilov. Kornilov's adventure was mainly directed against the Soviets. The Menshevik-Socialist Revolutionary government of Kèrensky was wavering between revolution and counter-revolution; there was even a suspicion that Kèrensky himself, who had fallen under the influence of Tzarist generals, who surrounded him and shamelessly flattered his vanity, was at Kornilov's general headquarters. Even the All Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates, which was then entirely dominated by Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, was forced by pressure from below to act in defense of the revolution and directed the Revolutionary War Committee as a fighting semi-military organisation for the defense of the revolution. Immediately afterwards everywhere, in the provinces and at the fronts, similar Revolutionary War Committees were formed.

Owing to the undecided, vacillating policy of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks began to play a leading rôle in all these Revolutionary War Committees, although at that time they were everywhere in the minority. This very considerably raised their prestige among the masses. Since the

Revolutionary War Committees succeeded in serving the revolution, and Kornilov's adventure ended in ignominious failure, the Revolutionary War Committees themselves, as a type of a fighting soviet organisation, acquired great popularity.

When the Petrograd Soviet became Bolshevik it became clear that a new revolutionary uprising was coming on with seven-league paces; it became clear that neither the petty bourgeois government of Kerensky nor the Menshevik-Socialist Revolutionary All-Russian Central Executive Committee could tolerate the existence of the menace to themselves in the shape of the revolutionary Petrograd Soviet. It was obvious that they would make use of the first opportunity to try and destroy it. Therefore, by the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet the Revolutionary War Committee was reformed.

This was the spring of the proletarian revolution. The Petrograd proletariat and garrison, almost entirely Bolshevist, full of energy and strength, full of confidence in themselves and their victory, were spoiling for the fight. The Bolshevik orators spoke openly of the new stage of the revolution. At meetings attended by tens of thousands of people, the president of the Petrograd Soviet, L. D. Trotsky, succeeded in bringing workers and soldiers to a state bordering on ecstacy, when all, like one man, swore not to give way a single step in the inevitable and decisive fight. There was no doubt that anybody would break that oath. This was well understood by the representatives of the parties then in power. At one of the conferences of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Tzeretelli, at that time a minister, in a private conversation with the writer, said: "It is obvious now that you will win. But for good or bad, we have held power for six months. If you will hold out even six weeks, I will confess that you were right." Two years have passed and we are not only "holding out" but are gaining strength every day and acquiring new allies. . . .

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates was appointed for October 25th (November 7). A Bolshevik majority was anticipated. The Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries tried to postpone the congress in order to save themselves, but the provincial Soviets refused to obey the order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and accepted the proposal of the Petrograd Soviet, convening the congress at the date appointed. The delegates came pouring in, and were indeed nearly all Bolsheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. The situation was coming to a head. The night of the 24th of October was destined to be decisive.

Comrades Lenin and Zinoviev, who, ever since the July days had been forced to conceal themselves, appeared on that night within the walls of Smolny Institute.

In a small room on the first floor an almost permanent session of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party was held. The latter deputied as its representatives at the Revolutionary War Committee the late Comrade Uritsky and myself, who soon became president of the committee.

The Revolutionary War Committee had its room upstairs on the third floor, if I am not mistaken, in room No. 75. Next to it was the staff, which consisted chiefly of Communists and Left Socialist Revolutionaries, who had to do with military matters; we had no military specialists in those days; but the chief work at that period was carried on not in the Revolutionary War Committee but in the workers' districts and barracks.

In the evening of the 24th all the telephones at Smolny and of persons connected with it were cut off. This was a declaration of war.

The Revolutionary War Committee issued an order to immediately occupy the telephone station. This was carried out without bloodshed.

Having started we had to continue. The other necessary government institutions were occupied one by one. No resistance was offered anywhere, only at the Winter Palace, where the Provisional Government was located, the women's battalion fired at us. Six of the attacking revolutionaries were killed. Not a single woman was hurt. These six heroes were the only victims of the proletarian revolution. . . .

To show the humane and even good natured treatment of their enemies by the workers and soldiers in the first days of the revolution, I wish to state that when, after a few days, the representatives of the garrison and workers appeared at the Revolutionary War Committee with a request to give a decision with regard to these women battalions, and the writer of these lines asked them what should be done in their opinion, they said, "Dress them as women again and let them go home." That is precisely what was done with them. Much merriment was caused at the Revolutionary War Committee by the search for such a large quantity of female garments, especially as a part of the women warriors had to be clothed in school girl uniforms which were discovered in the cellars of Smolny, and did not look too martial. What is more, they were too short for many of them.

The impression created by that decisive night was that the Provisional Government was the aggressor and the revolutionaries were only on the defensive. When all the chief government institutions in Petrograd were occupied by the rebels, when not a single regiment of the Petrograd garrison appeared against the revolutionaries—they all went over to our side—we heard news from the neighbourhood: "Cadet are moving from Pavlovsk to Petrograd," "Such and such regiments advance from Tzarskoe-Selo and Krasnoe-Selo,"

etc. But when these regiments, after meeting the Red battalons, either returned or went over to our side, it became obvious that the revolution was victorious.

We could definitely state that at the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, which met again at dawn, one of those who were formerly against the rising—L. B. Kamenev—was first to say: "Well, since the deed is done, let us form a ministry." Then and there the first Council of People's Commissaries was appointed.

The congress met in the course of the day; it unanimously sanctioned all that happened and unanimously passed the decrees on "peace" and on "land."

There was a new government, but it was without machinery. All the institutions went on strike. In all the ministries the only persons present were the attendants and lower employees. While the newly elected People's Commissaries were fighting this sabotage of the government officials and were organising their commissaries, the Revolutionary War Committee had to deal with hundreds and thousands of visitors, which formed a long line from the doors of the corridors and down the stairs.

The whole staff of the Revolutionary War Committee consisted of two or three secretaries and a few typists. Its members, therefore, had to devote twenty-four hours of the day to the questioning of visitors and the decision of all affairs. Every one appealed to the Revolutionary War Committee. A frightened citizen appeared with a humble request to obtain a safe conduct, foreigners asked the permission to leave the country, workingmen who took upon themselves the management of factories, came to demand money and various instructions; ladies, students, soldiers, officials—all came with requests and appeals; persons arrested on suspicion of being counter-revolutionaries were brought in. It became necessary to create a special department for such affairs under the directon of Dzerzhinsky—a department which afterwards grew into the Extraordinary Commission to fight counter-revolution. In spite of the strike of all the institutions, Petrograd wanted to eat, Petrograd wanted to live. The Revolutionary War Committee had to give fuel, light, food, etc. The railway trade union, which from the time of Kerensky aspired to have a voice in the composition of the government, attempted to interfere now as well. The committee had a great deal of trouble with this organisation.

This perpetual hurly-burly prevented us from remembering the details of separate episodes in the activity of the Revolutionary War Committee. In some rare cases such episodes created a mild sensaton. Such, for instance, was the appearance in the committee of our foremost scholars, members of the Academy of Science, who came to beg for the liberation of the ministers of the Provisional Government on the ground that they were "outside party politics." Most of the members of the Revolutionary War Committee had spent long years in Tzarist prisons and served sentences at hard labour, and such a request caused a natural query: "Why did the 'non-political' scholars not appeal to the Tzarist Government on their behalf?" The release of the arrested minsters was refused, but the request to improve their lot was granted.

The Revolutionary War Committee had to pass some anxious moments at the time when Kerensky and Krasnov were moving on Petrograd. The directions for defense were issued at the front and the committee, which was constantly visited by representatives of regiments and the Red Guards (the Red Army had not yet been formed), was mainly there to settle all sorts of misunderstandings. We received news that munitions were dispatched, but no guns, or vice versa, or that artillery has arrived without cover, or that certain units lost their way and did not know where to proceed. We had to make immediate inquiries and follow them by urgent measures. But our chief task was to obviate the panic which arose here and there. The very fact that comrades were watching day and night at Smolny, that they were quietly doing their work and were prepared to take the necessary measures, acted as a tonic on the delegates from the front; some came in a state of panic and left reassured. I recollect a commander who showed great nervousness, and who was persuaded after a long while that this confusion was quite natural, considering the complete absence of any military apparatus, but that we are bound to win, as we are backed by the masses. He exclaimed in the end: "True, comrades, worse things happened during the French Revolution; whole regiments surrendered to one another." . . .

Gradually work began to move along a beaten track. The Revolutionary War Committee was being relieved of much of its work, partly by other newly founded institutions, to which it appointed its commissaries, partly owing to the fact that the People's Commissaries were breaking the back of the strike or forming institutions run by new men. Work was gradually drifting into the People's Commissariats. The Revolutionary War Committee became useless and was dissolved.

* * *

The Revolutionary War Committee was a truly proletarian government. It was only an executive organ of the proletariat, for the whole revolutionary people took part in its work. It forged the weapons for future fights in the flames of the revolution, and realised the constructive will of the proletariat. It is even difficult to indicate what this or that person was doing in those days. The whole revolutionary mass acted like one man. All were fighting and working as one whole: the workers were actuated by a single desire—to win. And for that reason the revolution was victorious.

Petrograd, October 25, 1919

The Russian Revolution and the International Proletariat

The Second Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia.

By G. Zinoviev

AN international socialist congress was proposed for September, 191[illegible] in Vienna, which it was thought would play a most important part in be international labour movement. Half a century had elapsed by that year since the foundation of the International Society of Workers (the First International). It was proposed to make a great celebration on that occasion, and at the same time definitely to decide on the tactics which the international proletariat was to follow in its fight against the imperialist war, which was approaching as inevitably as fate.

In spite of all that, the world imperialist slaughter broke out in August, 1914, and lasted for four and a half years.

The International Socialist Bureau, under the direction of Huysmans and Vandervelde, published in Vienna a jubilee magazine of the Second International with the consent of the official Austrian Social Democracy This magazine contained all the resolutions of the International on the question of war, some speeches, and articles of important representatives of international socialism against the war. When the imperialist slaughter began, and when the official socialists became bankrupt and surrendered our red banner to the bourgeoisie, the friends of Victor Adler and Vandervelde hastened to "withdraw from circulation" this anniversary magazine of the International. Their conduct was absolutely justified from their point of view. Every line of this magazine administered a severe castigation to the official high priests of state social democracy. Every resolution, every speech and article quoted in that magazine denounced the unprecedented treachery committed by Scheidemann, Victor Adler, Sudekum, Renner, Renaudel, Henderson, Huysmans and such like The leaders of the bankrupt Second International had perforce to fear their own shadow. They had to hide themselves from their own past.

How did the question of war and revolution really stand before the beginning of the war?

In a shameful pamphlet, entitled "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," which the renegade Kautzky published in the autumn of 1918, this ex-socialist, renouncing civil war, uses all arguments to persuade the working class that it will commit a sin by taking up arms, and that there can be no question of a socialist revolution at the present time. And yet ten years ago the same Kautzky wrote as follows:

"Socialism has now become an economic necessity. The period of its advent is only a question of force. To give the proletariat that force by means of organisation and enlightenment, is now by far the most important task of social democracy. There is nothing stranger than those socialists who imagine that we must now further develop the forces of capitalism." Thus Kautzky wrote as late as 1907 in his pamphlet "Socialism and Colonial Policy" (see page 37 of the German edition).

Another great theoretician of the Second International, Rudolph Hilferding, wrote in his "Financial Capital":

"Socialism ceases to be a distant ideal, it ceases to be even that 'final goal' which simply indicates the general trend of events. Socialism becomes the essential element in the actual practical policy of the proletariat. . . . The answer of the proletariat to the economic policy of financial capital and imperialism is not declaring for free trade, but for socialism. . . . Socialism, as the only answer to imperalism, must be the first topic of propaganda. . . . Financial capital generally tends to establish public control over production, but this is a socialisation of a contradictory character; the domination over social production still remains in the hands of an oligarchy. If six large Berlin banks were seized at the present time it would be equivalent to the seizure of the most important spheres of big industry, and would exceedingly simplify the first steps of the policy of socialism during that period of transition, during which it would still be expedient to retain the capitalist method of bookkeeping."

The third priest of the defunct Second International, Otto Bauer, exactly ten years ago, in 1908, in his famous book, "The National Question and Social Democracy," declared:

"The future imperialist world war is infallibly bound to lead to a revolutionary upheaval. . . . The imperialist world catastrophe will undoubtedly be the beginning of a socialist world revolution."

Such was also the idea of Bebel at the time of the Morocco conflict. He declared in his famous speech in the Reichstag:

"Then there will be a catastrophe. Then (i. e., when the world war starts) the greatest European war will begin, in which from 16,000,000 to 18,000,000 men, the flower of all nations, armed with the best weapons of murder, will hurl themselves at one another.

"But I am firmly convinced that the great world war will be followed by the world revolution. . You will reap that which you have sown. The bourgeois régime passes now through the twilight of the gods. And be sure, gentlemen, this twilight is already very near. You have arrived at the period when you yourselves are undermining the foundations of your political and social structure. You yourselves have done that, which now makes audible the death knell of your political and social order."

It is not only individual leaders of the Second International but its responsible organisations themselves that spoke in the same strain. The official party document, published in 1912 by the central committee of the German Social Democracy, stated:

"If 300 magnates of capital were replaced by trusted men of the proletariat, the whole of production could, without further difficulties, be directed in the interests of the working classes instead of in the interests of capital, and the transition to a socialist system of production would then begin. To that extent, thus far has the preliminary work of capitalism matured." (Pamphlet, "Imperialism and Socialism," 1912.)

The imperialist war gives birth to the socialist revolution. The Second International declared so in 1907, in the famous resolution of the international congress at Stuttgart. The imperialist war inevitably gives birth to a socialist revolution—thus the most responsible, the most eminent representatives of the Second International continued to declare up to 1912.

Not even "up to 1912." Even on the eve of the war, we may say twenty-four hours before the first shot was fired, the official representatives of the Second International declared the same thing.

The painstaking professor-pacifist, Karl Grunberg, collected in two thick volumes all the resolutions, articles and speeches of the official socialist organisations and leaders, published a couple of days before the war.

Everything was quite clear. All the responsible politicians saw that the war, the approach of which was prophesied by the socialists for the last ten or twelve years, was really coming. All the leaders of the socialist parties became convinced that the International Congress at Basel was right when it declared that the Balkan War of 1912 was only a prelude preliminary to a greater, a European, universal imperialist slaughter. The coming events were clearly outlined at the beginning of 1913.

Right up to the firing of the first shot the official socialists continued to speak the truth by a sort of power of inertia. And all of them assured us that such a war will be unjust and unrighteous, that it will be waged in the interests of a small clique of capitalists. All of them proved to the workers of their respective countries that their interests and their honour demands a most vigorous protest and a most determined fight against the approaching crime.

Professor Grunberg's book, which is merely a compilation of official documents, is the most eloquent indictment of the socialist patriots of all countries. Every line of his book lashes the social traitors.

As with a whip, Hervé, that townerier, who is now the apologist of the French imperialist campaign against the great Russian workers' revolution, even he, on July 28th, 1914, wrote:

"A war for the protection of small nationalities oppressed by a powerful state? This is too good for words! But Europe for a long time has not seen a great power whose hands are not steeped in blood.

"No, this war is not for the protection of the little Serbian nation, but for the defense of the prestige of our ally, the Tzar.

"The honour of our ally, forsooth! The honour of the Russian Government! This alone would have sufficed to make Rabelais, Voltaire, Victor Hugo, turn in their graves. The Russian Government was not very sensitive about its honour when it strangled Finland and Poland, when it let loose its black hundreds on the Jewish population of Kiev and Odessa.

"The fight for the prestige of the Tzar! What a glorious motive for a nation whose ancestors made the great revolution! What a joy to die for such a noble cause!"—*La Guerre Sociale*, July 28th, 1914.

The late Jaurès, murdered a few hours before the war, in a speech delivered in one of the suburbs of Lyons four days before his death, said:

"The terrible conditions in which we find ourselves are due to the colonial policy of France, the sinister secret policy of Russia, the arrogant violence of Austria. Citizens, if the war clouds burst, we, as socialists, must take good care to absolve ourselves as soon as possible of the crime committed by the governing classes!"

The central organ of the official German Social Democracy forty-eight hours before the outbreak of war continued to publish series of articles proving that this war would be a crime against the workers. . . .

But the moment the first shots were exchanged, the official leaders of the Social Democratic Party declared that white is black, and black is white. The most criminal war was painted by them as a "great" war of "liberation." Every official socialist party called upon its workers to defend "their country," i. e., their bourgeoise, i. e., their bosses. The principles of socialism were forgotten, the red banner was trampled under foot, honour and conscience were declared prejudices.

There was no treason as that which was committed by the official leaders of social democracy towards the

workers of all countries. Every honest socialist was declared to be a dreamer, a madman, a criminal, an enemy of the people. The official priests of the Second International bespattered every honest internationalist who raised his voice against the imperialist slaughter with dirt. The holy blood of the workers was set running. The whole of Europe was transformed into one gigantic cemetery.

Four years have passed now since the International Zimmerwald Conference. It is painful to think of the time when only a score of socialists gathered in that remote Swiss village, men who had no more than some hundreds of followers in the whole of mutilated and tortured Europe behind them.

In Germany the internationalists, headed by Liebknecht, were only making their first attempts. The stillness of the grave reigned over the whole of Germany. Messrs. Scheidemann & Co. treated the few bold internationalists with supreme arrogance, with stupid self-assurance, for they were certain that the masses of the workers would follow them, the official governmental representatives of so-called socialism.

Austria was even in a worst state. In 1915, at the time of the Zimmerwald Conference, there were only about half a dozen daring internationalists. The official Austrian Social Democracy, led by Victor Adler, was wholly and unreservedly in the service of the Austrian Monarchy.

In France and England the jingo socialists were having the time of their lives.

In Italy the official party did not vote for war credits, but the overwhelming majority of its leaders, hypnotised by the pacifist idea, would not hear of an open revolutionary war.

We need not say anything about Russia. Here war-industrial "socialism" flourished, at the head of which, arm in arm, were Gutchkov, Potresov, Plekhanov and Miliukov.

Strong faith in the cause of labour was necessary at that time for one to raise the banner of a revolutionary fight for socialism.

Who of those present at the Zimmerwald Conference could for a moment imagine that hardly three years will elapse before a socialist revolution would take place in Russia, the whole of Europe shaken to its foundations, Germany and Austria on the eve of a proletarian revolution, and Italy and France seized in the throes of violent class struggle?

All this has come to pass, however, and we have lived to witness it. . . .

When the Russian February Revolution broke out all the bourgeois governments of Europe, and following them, the official social patriotic parties, were alarmed.

A considerable section of the European bourgeoisie could not but sympathise with the February revolution, *in so far* as it remained only a bourgeois revolution, *in so far* as it was a question of exchanging the autocratic régime of Nicholas Romanov for the bourgeois régime of Miliukov and Goutchkov.

But the rascals of European imperialism were not to be deceived. The sharp scent of big proprietors, who are being threatened by their revolting slaves, at once indicated to the leaders of the European bourgeoisie that the February bourgeois revolution contained the germs of a *labour socialist* revolution.

As is well known, the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was formed at the very beginning of the February revolution. The hangmen of world imperialism scented at once that these soviets had a great chance of becoming the cradle of the socialist movement in Russia.

The Soviets are the enemy! declared the European stock exchange.

"The participation of mobilised soldiers in the elections (it was then a question of elections for the Constituent Assembly) would be a source of great danger," wrote the official organ of the French Government, *Le Temps*, on March 8th, 1917. The same *Le Temps* on the 9th of March waxes indignant and declares with unparalleled frankness:

"We cannot understand by what right 1,600 deputies of workers and soldiers gather in the Taurida Palace and from there dictate decisions (the gathering in question is the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies). Is this improvised meeting going by any chance to play the part of government? The English press yesterday uttered the first warning, we repeat it most insistently. For, if the Russian Revolution is going to degenerate into parody, the whole future of Russia and her liberty will be compromised."—*Le Temps*, No. 20,347.

At the same time the central organ of the British imperialists, *The Times*, at the very beginning of the February revolution, with frenzied malice, persecuted the so-called "extremists," as the Bolsheviks was then known in Western Europe. As early as the 7th of March, 1917, *The London Times* demanded the disarmament of the Petrograd workers, and insisted that if the proletariat of Petrograd cannot be "pacified" by any other means, there should be no hesitation in applying armed force to put it down.

There was a good reason why the "improvised" meeting at the Tauride Palace disturbed the sleep of the London and Paris bankers. These men have not forgotten the movement of '48, and well remember the Paris Commune of 1871. They shrewdly guessed that the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were an ill-omen for the European bourgeoisie.

Some folk are surprised that British imperialism is waging open war against Socialist Russia. And yet, at the bginning of March, 1917, when the bourgeois government in Russia was at its height, even at the moment when the whole of the Russian bourgeoisie declared our revolution "great" precisely for dong so little, already at that time the hardened pirates of British imperialism

were perfectly conscious of what was going on. On the very first days of March, 1917, the London and Paris organs of the stock exchange expressed their profound sympathy with Nicholas Romanov. The leader of the bourgeois French Republic in the Chamber of Deputies praised Bloody Nicholas as a man who faithfully performed his duty towards the "allied" French "people," whose abdication was a "noble act," and to whom the Russian people, as well as universal history, might preserve a feeling of veneration."

The European stock exchange knew that in its fight against the "improvised meeting of workers and soldiers it would more than once have to bow to the Tzarist gang. The unscrupulous business men and clever rascals of the bourgeois republic knew from the first moment of the February revolution that in their own class interests they will have to try to reestablish Tzarism in order to crush the working class and poor peasants in Russia.

The bourgeoisie of the whole of Europe at once showed its teeth to the working class of Russia.

And what about the world proletariat? How did it answer to the call of the Russian Revolution?

Needless to say there was universal jubilation on the fall of Tzarism among the labouring classes of Europe. But at that time there was not a trace of any *active* support lent to our Soviets. The working classes continued to drag on the war and to live under the yoke of martial law. A fresh wind seemed to break through the fog of war. But it did not stay for long! The wind was not strong enough to blow off all the obstacles which history has piled up in its path.

The official "socialists" of all countries continued to play the part of traitors to their cause. They tried to utilise the historically unprecedented revolutionary movement in order to justify and continue their work of treason. The government socialist-compromisers helped the bourgeoisie of "their" countries to hurl slander and dirt at the proletarian soviets which were created in Russia, they helped to bait the Russian Bolsheviks who raised the standard of the communist revolution.

And the Russan proletariat by its class instinct felt that the final issue of the great struggle which it started with the Russian bourgeoisie will finally be settled by the answer which will be given to its call by other countries. The Russian worker fixed his gaze to the west in the expectation of a brotherly response.

Like the earth after a long draught accepting the first drops of beneficient rain, the Russian working class, thirsting for an honest international word, eagerly accepted every indication, however weak, of the international support from the west European workers. The Russian working class with open arms received every socialist from France or England though this so-called socialist might belong to the patriotic brand.

The confidence placed by the Russian proletariat in the representatives even of the most doubtful kind of European socialism was boundless. This was made use of by the Russian compromising "socialists." They purposely substituted spurious patriotic "socialists" for the genune representatives of international socialism They consciously and methodically fed the Russian workers on substitutes. They purposely offered their stones instead of bread.

Who does not remember the disgusting sights which were unfolded at the Petrograd Soviet in the days when the proletariat of Petrograd was still in a patriotic mood, and when it was presided over by Chkheidze, Tzeretelli, Kèrensky? Who does not remember the arrival in Russia of the notorious Albert Thomas, the French Scheidemann? Who does not remember how, at the great meetings of the Petrograd Soviet, the old fox Chkheidze shook hands with the socialist-rogue Albert Thomas, and how they sang together the "Marseillaise" and the "International"? The guileless workers were worked up to a pitch of international ecstacy. In the simplicity of their hearts they were convinced that they were witnessing the fraternisation between genuine socialists, not suspecting for a single moment that a most disgusting scene of hyporcisy and cant was in fact being staged before their eyes.

Many months were required to open the eyes even of the most enlightened Petrograd workers. But, at last, when our workers regained their sight, there was no limit to the hatred and contempt they felt to the jesuitical patriotic socialists both of the French and the German variety. There was also no limit to the warm love for those genuine internationalist socialists who were represented by Karl Liebknecht in Germany, John MacLean in England, and Eugene Debs in America.

"The darker the night the brighter the stars," said the Russian workers. . . .

The international proletarian revolution is the sacred goal to which the foremost Russian proletariat is striving, it is the brilliant guiding star which lightens the path of the Russian proletarian fighters. In times of the greatest difficulty, when the worker was groaning beneath the burden of an unequal fight, when he suffered hunger, when he was surrounded by enemies on all sides, when he was losing heart and occasionally grumbled against his own Soviets—it was enough at such moments for a spark of hope, however dim, of the international socialist revolution to appear, and weariness, discontent and mistrust vanished as if by magic. The Petrograd or Moscow proletarian became again a courageous fighter, he stoutly shouldered his rifle and continued without complaint or murmur to carry the heavy burden which history had laid upon his shoulders.

We remember the days of the Brest negotiations. Painful, bitter days, unparalleled in history! We remember those passionate disputes which took place in our midst in those memorable days. When discussing the pros and cons of the "respite," we were mostly considering: Will the conclusion of peace be prejudicial to

the growth of the proletarian revoluton in the west? What we were most of all afraid of, will this step of ours extinguish even for a minute the revolutionary flames of the proletarian struggle which was beginning to appear in Europe? The Petrograd and Moscow proletarians trembled at the very thought, that, may be, our respite will be bought at the dear price of retarding the proletarian struggle in other countries. The heroic Russian workers were most of all afraid that they would be misunderstood by the workers of Germany, who, may be, would regard the peace treaty as our acquiescence in the German imperialist rule, afraid that by our respite we would embarrass them in their fight with Wilhelm, or that the Brest treaty would lead to new jingo outbreaks in France and England. . . .

The Communist workers had to think deeply and swiftly in those memorable days.

We are happy to be able to state now, the proletarians of other countries understood us perfectly. The class instinct indicated to them that our step was not dictated by any egotistical national motives, but precisely by the interests of international socialism. They understood that from the moment of the proletariat upheaval, our country had become the chosen land of socialism and that our government of workers and peasants was compelled to conclude a burdensome peace only in order to preserve the first socialist republic in the world. The advanced workers of all countries well understood that by signing the Brest treaty we were only trying to gain time for ourselves and at the same time wished to give them time to come to the rescue of the first proletarian revolution in the world.

The Russian proletariat has keep its word. It could hold out until the time when the world revolution started.

The world revolution was born of the world war. This partly explains why the revolution started in the economically backward countries. It also explains the circumstance that the first proletarian revolution obtained the possibility of respite. If there had not been a war between two imperialist trusts a furious competition between the Anglo-French and Austro-German imperialism, if in a word there had not been a universal imperialist war, which produced a world proletarian revolution—, the proletarian revolution could not hold its own in any country for two solid years. . . .

It will be thus in Europe, in the whole civilized world because history has placed the socialist revolution on the order of the day. It will be thus because Kautzky was right when he declared in 1907 that socalism henceforth was only a matter of force. And the same Kautzky is wrong in 1918 and 1919 when he adduces hypocritical and renegade arguments to the effect that the Russian Proletarian Revolution is dominated not by the spirit of the Communist Lenin, but by the spirit of the petty-bourgeois opportunist David. . . .

An international revolution cannot be made to order. An international proletarian revolution cannot take place simultaneously in all countries. It will happen not by special agreement of certain leaders. It will in this or that country be placed in a difficult position and find itself between the hammer and the anvil. May be the German proletariat, which will soon take power in its hands, and will be forced to wind up that painful inheritance bequeathed to it by Wilhelm; may be the German proletariat, too, will have to face an ordeal which will remind it of our sufferings at Brest. May be the Ukrainian proletariat, which has seen so many sights, has to go through even worse experiences when the imperialists will play with its fate, as if it were a ball. None the less the future—and we can now state with perfect certainty, the *near* future—belongs to the proletarian revolution.

The workers of certain countries are celebrating the second anniversary of the Russan Proletarian Revolution in very unfavourable conditions.

In Hungary the Soviet government has been overthrown by the combined efforts of Rumanian landowners, French bankers, Hungarian reactionary officers and Hungarian "social democrats." Thousands of our Hungarian brothers are thrown into prison and torn to pieces by the drunken, revengeful and furious bourgeoisie.

In Bavaria the Soviet government is drowned in the blood of the Bavarian workers. The hangman Noske worked more zealously than could be expected by the most bloodthirsty imagination of the bourgeoisie. Thousands of our brothers are shot. Under the guise of "judgment of criminals" the bourgeoisie, with the blessings of the Social Democracy, has been for months carrying on its orgy of revenge against the heroic Bavarian Communists.

In Germany Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Tyczko have been killed. The Berlin Soviet has been dispersed by the troops of Scheidemann. Many thousands of the best German proletarian-communists have perished this year at the hands of the reactionary officers and yellow Social Democrats.

But none the less we need not be down-hearted. Even the prostrated Bavaria gives signs of life by a new series of sporadic revolts. New life will soon revive Hungary.

In Germany every day brings fresh working masses to the side of the Communists. In France and in Italy the proletarian revolution is approaching. The revolution is marching on. The victory of the Communists is as inevitable as the coming of morn after night.

At the moment when we are penning these there is a general railway strike in England—an event of the greatest world importance.

Only half a year ago the Third International was born in Moscow. And now it has become a great power. The Communist International already numbers over a million members. There are considerable communist

parties in all the important countries of Europe and America. In such countries as Germany, Italy, Russia and Bulgaria the lead in the labour movement is admittedly and undoubtedly taken by the Communists.

The Soviet government is already morally victorious in the whole world. The overwhelming majority of the workers in all countries are in their innermost souls supporters of the Soviet government.

Even the *Vorwärts*, inspired by Scheidemann, was forced to confess the following:

"We can criticise the leaders of the Bolsheviks as we please, but it would be a pity if we were to ignore their good points: They (i.e., the Bolsheviks) are the only revolutionary force which can still fight the all-powerful Entente) . . . . form the last bulwark in the resistance to the capitalist dictators of the Paris Conference." (The leading article in *Vorwärts*, "Die Radikalisierung der Englischen Arbeiter," 18th September, 1919, No. 477.)

Exactly so!

Does the *Vorwärts* realise how much it is admitting in these few words? It has acknowledged the raison d'être of the Soviet government in Russia, it has given to itself and to its "social democracy" a certificate of spiritual poverty, it has recognised that only Communism is going to save humanity from the Entente plunderers and the cannibals of imperialism in general.

Even our revolution of 1905 had immense international consequences. This, our first revolution, aroused hundreds of millions of men in the East. What was the revolution of 1905, compared to the revolution of 1917-1918? Why, mere child's play! An innocent rehearsal! We live too close to the events to be able to appreciate all the colossal international consequences which our present revolution will produce. But there can be no doubt that our first great proletarian revolution will awaken hundreds and hundreds of millions of men in the whole world.

Let the whole international bourgeoisie slander us, let the vile hirelings, the jingo socialists, help it in doing so, let them represent our great movement as nothing but anarchy, a bloody chaos, hell, fire—this will never mislead the proletariat of Europe and America. Every honest worker in Europe and America feels with heart and instinct that we are fighting *his* battle. He feels that here in Russia the great contest is being decided between labour and capital, that it is on our soil that the first battles, the opening skirmishes take place between the decadent bourgeoisie and the proletariat irresistibly advancing to the political power.

And in spite of all that the pessimists and sceptics might say, we are firmly convinced that we are moving forward, and that great battles and great victories are in store for us.

The prospect of a revolutionary war, such as was imagined by Marx as early as 1848, and of which Engels spoke in the nineties of the last century, this prospect is becoming real. If to-morrow the proletarian revolution is victorious in Berlin, we shall join proletarian Berlin against bourgeois Paris and imperialist London. If to-morrow the workers of Paris and Rome rise and assume the government, we shall join proletarian Rome against bourgeois Vienna, or the workers of Paris against the Berlin of Ebert. The idea of a revolutionary proletarian war assumes the most concrete bodily shape. We do not yet know in detail the future conditions of the world. We do not yet know under what circumstances and combinations our Red Socialist Army will have to fight the hordes of European imperialism. One thing we know for certain: we have witnessed a great change—the imperialist war has been transformed into a civil war, not onyl in Russia, but later on in a number of other countres.

The world proletarian revolution is coming. A new Communist International is born, which will soon become the Universal International Council of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

The Spirit of Revolution

By Jacques Sadoul

IN France not long ago a new phrase was coined to characterise the psychology of the chauvanist. Of the patriot capable of sacrificing all in his determination to conquer and to crush the enemy nation, they say that he is animated by the "spirit of war." In the same manner, we say of the socialist, ready to subordinate all and to sacrifice all in his determination to conquer the capitalist class and violently to crush the bourgeois apparatus of state, that he is animated by the "spirit of revolution."

For a quarter of a century the spirit of revolution has lain silent. The November Revolution resuscitated it, and not the least of its merits consists in this.

So well had doctrinarres falsified and emasculated Marxism, so cunningly did parliamentarians exaggerate the importance of their action, that the popular masses

of the people, depressed by democratic phraseology, pacified by a policy of petty reforms, deluded by the opportunism of their leaders, began to show ever more repugnance to the use of violence and pictured the transition from capitalism to socialism only by means of gradual reforms, by a peaceable economic expropriation and political overthrow of the bourgeoisie that should take place, progressively and by degrees.

Never before has socialism passed through a more gloomy period. The outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution arose like a fiery flame in the night. Its sudden light awakened consciences not yet completely dulled. The reawakening of revolutionary faith seemed to be general, with the exception of a few degraded politicians, right from the very first day. In my possession are a few documents, the perusal of which would, without doubt, astonish a great number of comrades. Amongst letters received at this period from parliamentarians, intellectuals and military French workers there are a few lines written to my wife on the 21st of January, 1918, by a well-known author, Pierre Hampe, from which I will restrict myself to a few quotations:

Commenting on certain notes that I had addressed to him from Petrograd, he wrote: "How quickly Jacques has succeeded in directing his view beyond the petty precautions and the great fears; how deeply he has entered into the immortality of all that goes on over there. It is impossible to write and tell him so, but it certainly seems that Russia is accomplishing something great for humanity, probably the most important thing since the beginning of this war, and by which the world, in its torment, enters upon a new era."

The censor, having intercepted this letter from Hampe simultaneously with a letter from me, denounced with comical indignation, "this author who overflows with admiration for the lessons that Russia is giving us" to the military authority, and afterwards dispatched the two letters he had seized to General Lavergne, asking him to take action "against an officer suspected of connivances with the Bolsheviks."

The letter from Hampe gives an exact account of the first impression produced on all sincere Socialists, even though they were moderate, by the arrival of the Soviet government to power. The greatness of the event and its spontaneity raised them all at once, and so to speak, in spite of themselves, above their usual selves. Their relapse was very rapid, however. The opportunist movement had been too powerful for them. Almost all these men were definitely incapable of changing their aim and of throwing themselves into the combat in whose success they no longer believed. They lacked foresight, audacity and, above all confidence, faith, the spirit of revolution. The fit of enthusiasm passed by; applause was hushed. Finally, the weaklings regained their self-possession. They turned their back on the revolution.

Rare, indeed, very rare, were those in whom the spirit of revolution remained firm. Alone, scattered across the world, a few poor embers burned sadly amongst the ashes. But, in spite of all, the spirit of revolution was not to die in France.

The French proletariat lacks leaders. It has been betrayed by social patriots. It is still deceived by the socialists of the other side. But leaders are quickly found in a country that was always rich in men of action. That was never the danger. What our proletariat had lost, and what it was chiefly in need of, was, simultaneously, a clear vision of the irreconcillibility of class antagonism and the consciousness of its own force. The advent of the workers' and peasants' dictatorship in Russia gave this double-sense to our workers and peasants. They refound, together with a sense and a determination to struggle against a hostile bourgeoisie, their certainty of victory.

The French proletariat likewise no longer possessed a coherent revolutionary doctrine. The most ardent of non-reformist elements had almost all been shipwrecked in anarcho-syndicalism. The Russian Communist Party in the development of Marxian conceptions arrived at simple, logical, irrefutable theses which made havoc of the most deep-rooted prejudices of bourgeois democracy and which constituted a programme of action which could be used by the proletariat of all countries.

The Russian workers did still more. They brought into being the most improved instrument and the surest means of proletarian emancipation, namely, the Soviets.

Finally, they realized, or more exactly, commenced and greatly advanced the practical realization of the Communist programme. We all know the propagandist influence upon the masses at various times (generally more apt to understand concrete facts than abstract criticism) of works such as "A Journey in Icaria," by Cabot; "The Collective System," by Deslinières; "The Future City," by Tarbouriech, and so many other positive constructions, in which the authors have endeavoured, often with puerile minuteness, to foresee and represent the constitution of the régime of to-morrow.

We know the enormous influence which the brief, localised, incomplete, and on so many points uncertain work, undertaken by the Paris Commune, has had.

But how much more profound is the impression that has been produced by the realities tenaciously and scientifically pursued during two years by the Russian people on its gigantic territory. The experience gained, although distorted by the brutal intervention of world capitalism, by the war and the blockade, is henceforth decisive.

The Federative Socialist Republic of the Soviets of Russia may die to-morrow under the blows of its enemies, but it has proved that the positive value of the communist theses is equal to their critical value. The formidable work of social transformation accomplished in all spheres since the 7th of November, 1917, in Russia

has certainly been an essential factor in the revival that we notice of the spirit of revolution in the world.

The spirit of revolution is the torch which must set fire to and maintain the conflagration. Th conflagration will break out the sooner in proporton to the indispensible materials that will accumulate in the countries in question, in proportion to the conflict of economic and social forces that will develop.

As far as the proletariat of France in particular is concerned I am not afraid that it will let the hour pass by. The truly revolutionary demonstrators of the 14th of April and the 1st of May show that the spirit of revolution is every day more active amongst our working classes. Indeed, for what reason should this people, which possesses the most admirable revolutionary tradition, not be more passionately enthusiastic than any other?

1831, 1848, 1871 are three French dates, the three great proletarian dates before the great Russian dates of 1905 and 1917.

1831.—The strike at Lyons, the first insurrection of proletarian basis.

1848.—June. The first attempt at social revolution on an economic basis.

1871.—The first menace to bourgeoisie dictatorship and the first conquest of social power by the proletariat.

There only remains a fourth date for the French proletariat to inscribe in its history. By so doing they will fulfill the mission to which they were called in 1796 by the first revolutionary-communists, Laboeuf and his friends, at a time when, with prophetic foresight, fifty years before Marx and 100 years before Lenin, these latter demanded the community of property, denounced class antagonism, and declared war on the "Republic of the Rich," making the obligation of work equal for all and refusing "political rights to persons who did not serve the country in useful labour."

How can one resist the temptation of placing before the eyes of our comrades, on the eve of the second anniversary of the revolution of November, a few celebrated lines, too often forgotten, of the Declaration of Equality, already 123 years old:

"The French Revolution is but the forerunner of another greater and more solemn revolution, which will be the last."

"The People has passed over the corpses of Kings and Priests in coalition against it. . . ."

"We strive towards something more sublime and more equitable: the common welfare or the community of all property."

"No more private ownership of land. The land belongs to nobody. . . . We desire common possession of the fruits of the land: the fruits of the land belong to all."

"We declare that we can no longer tolerate that the vast majority of men work and sweat in the service and for the satisfaction of a small minority

"The moment has arrived to found the Republic of Equality."

Do you not perceive already the embryo of Bolshevism under this antiquated cloak of rhetoric?

The Influence of the October Revolution on the French Proletariat

By Henri Guilbeaux

THE February Revolution of 1917 made in France as in all other countries an exceedingly great impression, and led to a series of revolutionary outbursts. This idea of soviets soon found a favourable reception among the French workers and soldiers. Soldiers' committees were formed at the front, and the revolutionary spirit had the effect of mitigating the brutalisation of the soldiers, who were pitilessly sent forward by the general staff to face the German bullets. Unfortunately the absence of leaders and men possessing initiative and revolutionary courage has so far prevented the spread of the movement.

The legendary journey of Lenin across Germany remained a topic, constantly commented on, and from that time the Bolsheviks become exposed to all sorts of insults; calumny and the absurdest of insinuation Needless to say, the official organ of Socialist Party, *L'Humanité*, was not behind the imperialist press in its accusations and attacks on the Bolsheviks. This is not surprising, however, considering that men were not wanting even among the Russian socialists to abuse Lenin and his friends. But, nevertheless, the very same men a few weeks later took advantage of the breach which was so determinedly and successfully made by the great man, equally well versed in the theory and practice of socialism.

The success of Bolshevism was denied and admitted, in turn, but always with the same lack of sympathy. The patriotic and opportunist socialists wishing to revenge themselves on Lenin, Trotzky and Zinoviev for

their biting sarcasm and merciless criticism, warned the workers against such "adventurers and anarchists."

After the July days the French imperialist press, which was one-sidedly and inaccurately informed by its Russian correspondents and agents, unanimously proclaimed the end of "Bolshevism, Sovietism and Anarchism." It is significant that those journalists who underestimated the forces of Bolshevism were perfectly well aware that the Soviet government is closely connected with Bolshevism, and by the end of Bolshevism they understood the end of the Soviets government, the very thought of which inspired them with terror; for, in spite of their simplicity, they could not fail to see that the Soviet government means the domination of the working class.

We can say that all the French papers, all the politicians, and all the bourgeois circles in general were utterly amazed and alarmed by the news of the "Maximalist revolution." Even on the eve of the memorable October days, the great political prophets, strategists, astrologists and astronomers declared that fine weather has now come to stay for a long time.

And suddenly, the unexpected great storm broke out.

In spite of their fears, however, these French "politicians" continued to preserve a certain self-composure and magnanimously granted the Bolsheviks the lease of a few days' life.

By what manner of means, asked they, can a government retain power when it consists of a handful of Anarchists and disreputable characters, subsidised by Germany and entirely devoid of all popular support? Two years have passed since the proletarian dictatorship was established in Russia, and bourgeois journalists, having learned nothing, without in any way being ashamed of their senseless prophecies and endless contradictions, with rare exceptions they continue to announce every day the boring "news" of the approaching end of the Bolshevik dictatorship.

In labour circles the October Revolution roused an outburst of joy and energy, and the prestige of the Soviet government has measurably gone up. The imperialist and jingo press spares no efforts to discredit the very words "Bolshevik" and "Soviet," and is very anxious to make the word "Bolshevik" more odious than that of "boche." The result turned out just the opposite of what was expected by the scribblers who sold themselves to capital. This, by the way, proves that the argument concerning "popularity" and "unpopularity," so beloved by the opportunists, is of negligible value.

The peace proposals which the Soviet government addressed to all the nations made the greatest impression on the workers and soldiers all over the world. Generally speaking, the appeals and speeches of the Bolsheviks found the most sympathetic reception among the masses, owing to their simplicity, clearness and force—qualities which made them exactly opposite to the involved declartions of Kèrensky and other so-called socialists.

The counter revolutionary tendencies of the French patrotic socialists were now becoming especially obvious, nay tangible. As regards the opportunists socialists, they did not grow any wiser, and their prophecies and dissertations remained, as before, in no way different from the argument of the declared counter revolutionary press. Considerably later, moved by events and the threats of the workers who were delighted with the October Revolution and were bent on reproducing in France the brave liberating action of the Russian Bolsheviks, the opportunists began to speak in a different strain. They tried to temper their Wilsonism with a smattering of Bolshevism and continued to advocate the counter revolutionary "League of Nations," and at the same time, to a certain extent, the revolutionary "Soviet Republic." At the same time they in no way slackened their agitation against all revolutionary outbursts in France.

Serious strikes began to break out, one after another, all over France. The Lyons strike lasted three days, and the press was strictly forbidden to give any news about it, however brief and impartial. The Loire region was in a state of constant ferment. And important and significant meeting took place in Paris comprising 1,000 delegates, representing 1,800,000 workers of the Paris region. This meeting demanded the cessation of military operations, threatening in case of non-compliance to declare a general strike.

The economic conditions, the systematic poisoning of a considerable section of the workers by jingoism, treason, vacillation, the cowardice of most of the socialist leaders—all this prevented swift and decisive action. But the November Revolution precipitated the downfall of the politicians, adventurers and self-seekers who regarded the workers only as a stepping stone to a "higher" place. The workers are rapidly abandoning them. Henceforward the renegades of international socialism will be unable to appear at meetings, and orators, wholly unknown up till now, who advance Bolshevist, or radical demands generally, meet with a most hearty reception from the masses.

Later on the traitors succeeded on one more occasion to paralyse the mass movement—I mean the international strike fixed for July 2, which was prevented by them. Let us hope that the second anniversary of the November Revolution will make the French workers think matters over and take a courageous decision. It is high time for our French comrades to overthrow the bourgeois dictatorship and to take power in their own

Political Strikes in Western Europe

Reminiscenses of the Secretary of the Zimmerwald Commission.

By Angelica Balabanov

THE October Proletarian Revolution has no chroniclers, and will hardly ever have them. It is precisely because it is a social revolution, the forerunner of the world upheaval which is destined by means of radical and revolutionary changes to alter not only the property and social relations and generally speaking all the external and internal conditions of life, that there can only be participators who owing to their feverish activity have no right and no possibility of finding time and leisure to write chronicles, and there are malicious enemies, professional caluminators and abusers of everything that undermines the existing state of society. Only now, when every minute destroys so many things, and at the same time creates, creates chiefly things immeasurable and unalterable that the self-reliance of the masses, resurrecting that which has been asleep for centures, can we understand how poor and meaningless in reality were the documents on the strength of which we had to reconstruct the spirit of the great revolutionary epochs, especially that of the Commune. We understand the social foundation of these movements, the historic epoch, the details of the struggle, and the causes of victories and defeats, but the beating of the heart, that inexpressible feeling which makes humanity in one hour of history live through an eternity, that, of course, cannot reach us. Who will be able to note and record in the history of mankind that which is now taking place in Russia at the cradle of the new order? It is at once terrible and ridiculous to contemplate that in the course of time our history of the proletarian revolution of the masses will be "reconstructed" on the base of written and printed documents. This work will be the more useless because much of that material, owing to the censorship restrictions which separated the socialist movement in various countries, and owing to the bitterness with which civil war is waged in all the countries, will be destroyed along with the workers in this or that phase of the international proletarian movement at the stormiest decisive moment of the transition from the Second to the Third International, to the international of revolutionary action by the masses. But there is a more difficult task than that of collecting and in chronological arranging the different documents, namely, to reconstruct in the future the logical sequence of the various manifestations of the international movement, its various decisions, to reproduce the motive which dictated this or that decision, which will leave for posterity only words, acts, paper and print. On the second anniversary of the Russan Proletarian Revolution I wish to give publicity to a document, known to very few, to explain so far as possible its origin in connection with events in Russia, and to show what part this document played in the outburst and victory of the October Revolution. It opened a new era in the attitude of Western European workers to the political strike of the masses.

* * *

The fundamental basis of the Zimmerwald movement was a deep conviction that only a mass revolutionary action of the working class can put an end to the war. It would be interesting to elucidate the following question, having regard to time and place, and on strength of documents and personal recollections: How far at the very beginning of the movement its founders and promoters realised, and, if I may say so, desired that this action would lead to civil war. I wish here with the aid of a few published documents and on the strength of episodic material to establish the part played by the very obscure Third Zimmerwald Conference, manly in connection with the October Revolution, with the political strikes of the workers of Germany and Austria and then of other countries, strikes which under present social conditions are preliminaries to civil war.

The First and Second Zimmerwald conferences are the best known features of the Zimmerwald movement. They, especially the first one, were the truly unique collective, international, class interpretation of the world war, the only appeal to the international class struggle against war. Though the watchwords proclaimed by Zimmerwald became truisms in the course of time and have been left behind by events—in those days, in the period of universal lethargy of the proletariat and the watchwords: "This is not our war" (declaration by the French and German delegation, Zimmerwald, 5th and 8th September, 1915, and well as the watchwords of the Second Kienthal Conference, 14th and 30th April, 1916, see the manifesto of that conference) had a great importance as a means of agitation. Life gave them flesh and blood; witness the Russian proletarian revolution, the revolutonary action of the masses in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and attempts of such action made in the whole world. This reminds us that even before the First Zimmerwald Conference the first congress of socialists to protest against the war and against the bureau of the Second International (Lugano, October, 1914. the congress of the Italo-Swiss Social Democracy) and the International Congress of Socialist Women (Berne,

March, 1915), stepped into the background and were both of them forgotten, though they were morally responsible for the birth of the Zimmerwald Conference. Quite irrespective of its political influences, the Zimmerwald movement had, especially in the beginning, an immense importance as a means of agitation; it was first to urge the vanguard of the working class, the revolutionary international social democracy, to break with its national representatives who formed the bourgeois government, and also to break with its interational organ—the International Bureau.

The main cause of the oblivion which was the lot of the Third Zimmerwald Conference (Stockholm, 5th and 8th September, 1917)—more so than was the case with the two first ones—was the development of the great events in Russia. We therefore quote in its entirety the manifesto adopted by it:

". . . The methods of the struggle against the war were demonstrated to the proletariat by the International Socialist congresses at Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle. Socialist parties and labour organisations of various countries, which took part in framing these resolutions, however right at the very beginning of the war, discarded the obligations which they took upon themselves. Their representatives called on the workers to *suspend* the class struggle, though it is the only possible and efficacious means of liberating the proletariat. *They voted for war credits*, which the ruling classes spent at their own discretion, they offered the government their services in various capacities, they tried to win over *neutrals* in favour of their government's policy, by using their press and special commissaries, they gave their government hostages for the preservation of national unity in the persons of *socialist ministers*. They have thus taken on themselves the *responsibility for the aims and methods of this war, a grave responsibility before the working class, present and future*. Like the separate parties, so the International Socialist Bureau—the recognised representative of the socialists of all countries—also proved to be bankrupt to all intents and purposes."—*Manifesto of the First Zimmerwald Conference, Zimmerwald, September, 1915.*

WORKERS OF TOWN AND COUNTRY!

The governments and the imperialist cliques and their press tell you that war must be carried to the end in order to free the oppressed nations. Of all the means of deceit used in this war this is the most brazen. The real object of this universal slaughter is: *the guarantee to some of what they have robbed in the course of centuries, in the course of many wars;* others *desire a new partition of the world to increase their possessions;* they wish to annex new territories, to tear the nations to pieces, to reduce them to mere slaves.

Your governments and their press tell you that war must be continued in order to crush militarism.

Don't allow yourselves to be deceived. . . . *The militarism of one or another nation can only be overthrown by the people within that particular nation*, and militarism must be overthrown in all countries.

Your governments and their press tell you that war must be continued in order that this may be the last war.

But this is a deception. *War has never abolished war.* On the contrary, it always gives birth to a desire for revenge, for violence breeds violence.

Thus, after each sacrifice your tormentors will demand of you new sacrifices, and not even the bourgeois pacifists can save you from that vicious circle.

There is only one means to prevent future wars: the conquest of political power and the destruction of the capitalist system by the working class.—*Manifesto of the Third Zimmerwald Conference.*

TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

The prostrate nations, without resistance, are entering upon the horrors of a winter campaign. Millions of men are killed, millions maimed, new millions are sent daily to the slaughter. Hunger and privation have exhausted men, women and children in the rear. This happens not only in belligerent countries, but in neutral countries as well. Nations are exterminating each other. They are mere playthings and mere pawns in the game in the hands of capitalist competition, the striving of the governing classes for power and exploitation.

In the midst of these horrors and sufferings a heartfelt cry is rising from the suffering nations: "Give us peace, enough of this slaughter!" But the dawn has not yet appeared on the horizon. It is true the powers in both camps, under the pressure of their masses who are weary of war, declare that they want peace, but these solemn declarations conceal the unsatisfied desire to crush the enemy, the longing to increase their power and their possessions, to acquire new fields of exploitation.

All the capitalist governments tremble at the thought that they will have to return from the field of battle without trophies, burdened with debts running into milliards and followed by the curses of millions of widows and orphans. They await the day of peace with fear, for that day means to them a day of settlement. They are, therefore, averse to any peace negotiation so long as they have any strength left in them and as long as they can still cherish hopes, however slight, of victory.

No less fruitless were the attempts of the government socialists to bring about a compromising peace. They promised the proletariat that they would assist in laying the foundation of peace in Stockholm; but there is a wide gulf between the government socialists of the two belligerent groups of states; the government

socialists are mere tools of their respective governments. Their slavish subservience to maintain "civil peace," and the support they give to the imperialist tendencies have deprived them of the revolutionary fighting spirit so necessary in the struggle for the interests of the proletariat. Only the proletarian masses which remained true to the socialist ideal and kept the red flag flying, really wish to fight and are capable of it. The common faith and the consciousness of common interests unite the proletarians of the whole world into one whole, which irresistibly moves onward to the common goal. The rapid evolution of events make it necessary for the masses to hasten the realisation of their great task. Only a peace conquered by the resolute mass struggle of the socialist proletariat can form a serious barrier to a renewal of the slaughter of people. A capitalist peace of any kind can only lead to an immense burden of debt being piled up by the war in each country, which will fall on the shoulders of the toiling masses. The proletariat has for years been feeding the war monster with the blood of it sons, with the best vital forces of all men and women. The gang of exploiters increased their wealth and power by the war profits, so easily obtained A capitalist peace would lessen the political power of the proletariat and facilitate the exploitation of the nations by the captalists. A durable peace can only be made if all the countries become thoroughly democratised and the privileges of capital destroyed. Only the establishment of a socialist republic can be a real safeguard against the renewal of the world war.

The situation in Russia also urges the international proletariat to precipitate the struggle. The Russian fighters for liberty, by destroying Tzarism, have made the first promising step to bring about peace and liberate the nations. But in a world war the proletariat of one country if it is isolated cannot force the governments of all the countries to make peace. So far the proletarian masses of other countries have not followed the example of their Russian brothers and have not commenced the war for liberation. This circumstance may incidentally conduce to strengthen the reactionary elements in Russia. *The struggle of the international proletarian masses for peace means at the same time the saving of the Russian revolution.*

It is true, here and there, we witnessed isolated revolts of the proletariat. Working men and women were prepared to face persecution in publicly demanding bread, peace and liberty. The working masses conduct their proletarian fight by organising strikes in order to win the most elementary human rights. They resorted to these strikes, though the government socialists, the trade union and party leaders had even renounced the freedom of association. These revolts prove not only that the proletariat of various countries is sick of the war, but shows a consciousness and growing conviction that only the proletarian methods of warfare can lead to a lasting peace.

But the desired object cannot be obtained by means of such isolated revolts, which are either wholly unknown to the proletarians of other countries or else become known to them too late. The hour when the great common struggle for peace and the liberation of nations must begin in all countries has struck. *And this can be attained by the simultaneous international general strike*

With this battle cry we appeal to the working class of every country. Its fate is inextricably bound up with the fate of the whole world proletariat. If the working class of any separate country would refuse to take part in the common struggle, or—what is worse—will try to prevent it, it will thereby prejudice the cause of peace and conduce the explotation of nations, it will destroy its own future.

This must not be.

Workers of all nations! You have a difficult task to perform, but before you lies the lofty aim—the final emancipation of mankind.

Working men and women! Spread the idea of the international mass movement of the proletariat in every workshop, where the proletarians groaning beneath the burden of their bondage, in every hovel where poverty and misery are reigning. It will be a long and difficult struggle. The governing classes will not surrender at once. But the more difficult the struggle the more resolute must it be conducted. "It is by fighting that we shall conquer, and if we continue to suffer and to obey without any resistance the proletariat will perish."

Long live the international mass movement against the war!

Long live socialist peace!

* * *

This manifesto shows that, whereas the two first Zimmerwald conferences contained only the germ of the fundamental idea, the third conference gave that idea a definite and precise shape. Zimmerwald will either lead or at least help the mass movement, or else it will die an inglorious death in common with the healthy and truly proletarian phenomena born of the war. There was no occasion for the Zimmerwaldians at the Third Congress to discuss what will be the future evolution of the proletarian movement. There was one pressing urgent need at hand, to help the struggiing Russian workers who found themselves in mortal danger. That is why the third conference was entirely devoted to the explanation of the Russian situation to foreign delegates, to polemics between the tendencies, which at first were represented at the conference (semi-officially the Mensheviks left the conference) and to the expression in a concrete form of the feeling of solidarity with the Russian movement. This explains why the whole conference, though the Bolsheviks formed a small minority in it, showed great attention and sympathy to orators who discussed events in Russia from the Bolshevik standpoint, and on the other hand showed impatience and

open indignation at the petty insinuating criticisms of the Menheviks, who at that time formed part of the Zimmerwald Commission.

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The Third Zimmerwald Conference had the distinction of being the first international congress after the revolution took place at the moment when the seizure of power by the Russian proletariat was about to take place and the Second International was obviously and entirely discredited. The mountain of promises, diplomacy and demagogy gave birth to a shameful mouse; patriotic socialists promised to give peace and prosperity to the world; but their own colleague who happened to be ministers, their own governments did not allow them to assemble, refused to grant them passports, and the miserable slaves gave up their scheme of "saving mankind." The epitaph of the inglorious death of the Second International was the circumstance that it was the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois elements alone that looked forward to the Stockholm Conference. Only those persons who wished to patch up the swiftly crumbling capitalist order put expectation in the Stockholm Conference or attached to it any importance whatsoever. The proletariat—even its most backward elements—gave no attention whatsoever to the Second International. It was buried long ago, the masses had no faith in its initiative or in its ability to lead humanity out of the blind alley of blood.

The convocation of the Third Zimmerwald Conference was decided upon in Stockholm by the Russo-German delegation. Previously a complete rupture took place between the Zimmerwald commission and the Russian originators of the "Stockholm" conference. The Russian delegates, who were sent abroad to organise it, wanted the Zimmerwald commission to sign the invitation to it, but the latter, consisting at that time of three Swedish socialists of the Left and the writer of these lines, refused. At that stage of the preliminary arrangements of the conference a few German Independents had not yet quite lost faith in the possibility, if not in the importance of the Stockholm conference. They intended to make use of the conference for the purpose of unmasking the followers of Scheidemann, and afterwards take part in the Zimmerwald Conference; most of them, however—Ledebour and his followers, the then and present Sparticists—were even earlier in favour of complete boycott of the conference called together by the patriotic socialists. As the impossibility of the Stockholm conference became more evident, the necessity of the Zimmerwald Congress was recognised by the Independents of the type of Haase, who were in favour only of a partial boycott of the social patriotic conference. They used to say, that the socialist call to protest and fight against the war must be sounded somewhere, and the late Stattlagen, who was then slowly dying, often declared in speeches and in personal conversation: "Let the masses see that we give that which the social patriots were unable to give. Let the call to peace be sounded from Stockholm." It was owing to his request that the manifesto of the Third Zimmerwald Conference received the title: "The call to peace from Stockholm." However this somewhat naïve and superficial treatment of the question concealed more essential points. It was not a question of the followers of Scheideman and Tzeretelli not meeting together, but of the internal causes which prevented that meeting from taking place. As all those who in principle were against the shameful comedy of a compromising congress, asserted that this congress, by virtue of its programme, its participators, etc., could only serve as a demagogic dodge; its object was to sanction in the name of the "people" and of "socialism" the criminal mercantile policy of the imperialists governments. This government policy could temporarily be suspended either as the result of a complete victory of one coalition over another, or owing to complete exhaustion, or finally as a result of the retreat before and surrender to the masses. The agents of the governments—the state socialists—had thought out a clever scheme of calling together an all-deciding congress, the only object of which was to postpone the decisive action on the part of the workers. But as none of the above mentioned conditions existed at the time (the governments, on the contrary, found it to their advantage to continue their shameful bargaining and to shed the blood of the proletarians) the scheme of convening the congress was buried. This must have opened the eyes of the most naïve persons, the most sympathetic to the congress, who were forced to see that only a revolutionary demand for peace by the masses can lead to its conclusion. The Third Zimmerwald Congress was thus not only "chronologically" destined to take the place of the "Stockholm Conference," but it was destined to call the masses to action; i. e., to do what the Stockholm conference never could do. In other words, the masses themselves, by their revolutionary action, had to perform the duty which was discarded by the bankrupt shameful Second International.

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We can say that the convocation of the conference and events in Russia have decided beforehand that the honour and self-preservation of the working class demanded of them immediate aid to the Russian Revolution, and that such aid can only take the shape of an international strike. The manifesto, as usual, was drafted by special commission. The greater part of the discussion the day before turned on the formal side of the matter—was the manifesto to be published, was it to be signed by the names of the authors, when and where to print it, as the congress and its decisions had to be kept strictly secret, and as the German delegates were afraid that the least indiscretion might lead to serious

consequences for the organisation and party workers. The chief condition for a successful strike was its simultaneousness in all countries. Owing to purely political causes the delegates from the allied countries were unable to come. It was therefore necessary to secure, if not their signature, at any rate their agreement with the contents of the manifesto, so as to fix by common agreement the date of the strike. Until such agreement with the above-mentioned parties the manifesto was to be kept strictly secret. We recall the various extraordinary measures taken to observe that secret; the writer was instructed to see to it that no member of the congress should either take away with him or lose his copy of the manifesto and to allow its publication only after the answer from the Allied countries had arrived. There was only one member—the patriarch of the German movement, since dead—who was allowed to reproduce from memory, by means of his own stenographic method, the text of the manifesto.

In the execution of the decisions of the conference after endless difficulties, I managed to dispatch comrades to the Allied countries, upon whose safe return depended the publication of the manifesto. In the meantime the situation in Russia demanded urgent active intervention on the part of the international proletariat. The Bolshevist representatives at the Third Conference insisted by all means on the printing of the manifesto. But the Zimmerwald Commission, bound by the resolution of the conference, could not publish it. In the meantime a member of the Central Committee of the Independents arrived at Stockholm. He declared that "provocation, raids and arrests were taking place in Germany in connection with the mutiny in the fleet, and that they indicated a new wave of reaction. A call to strike could therefore be used as a means of persecuting the revolutionary organisations." The aim of this comrade was thus to temporarily postpone the publication of the manifesto—such was the decision of the Central Committee of the Independents, a decision so resolutely attacked by Ledebour. The Zimmerwald Commission was not prepared to make any concessions, but it affirmed that it had a duty to perform and intended to wait for the return of the emissaries, but that the moment they return the manifesto will have to be published immediately irrespective of the situation in Germany. The Russian Revolution was in danger, and all other considerations had to be put aside. The nervous tension was becoming more acute. It was felt that Revolutionary Russia was in mortal danger, and the anxiety for her fate, the fear that the international proletariat will be too late to help her, made it impossible for us to work methodically, still less to wait.

The great October Revolution took place. There was one thought dominating all others, subordinating even the most profound internal emotions—how to help the victorious Russian proletariat most efficaciously and rapidly, so that after its great and difficult exploit which it carried out for the liberation of the workers of the whole world after it threw down the gauntlet to the oppressors of the whole world—it should not for a moment feel itself isolated. The publication of the manifesto to the workers of the whole world by the socialist and class conscious workers of all countries, reminding the proletariat of its duty to the Russian working masses, and the oath taken by the representatives of the revolutionary organisations to remain true to this duty and to gather supports in "every workshop where the Workers are groaning beneath the burden of their work, in every hovel where poverty and misery rule supreme," the publication of the call to a general strike—all this appeared at that moment the most efficacious help to the Russian Revolutionary masses. At the same time we had to consider that such publication—owing to the undertaking not to publish the manifesto until there is a unanimous resolution of all parties to that effect—was a clear breach of duty. But things highly important before the great revolution were now relegated to the background; whatever consequences the publication of the call to the general strike might have had, they were insignificant compared to the tasks undertaken by the leaders of the world revolution. I am firmly convinced that not one class conscious worker, not one true Zimmerwaldian, can blame me, or consider that I have committed a breach of discipline by my action as international secretary. It is not often that a member of a great party has to face such great responsibility as I had to face then as secretary of the only international revolutionary organisation; but perhaps it is still more rare that such important and responsible decision was taken so quietly, in the full belief that it could not and should not be otherwise. Immediate action was necessary. The news of the great victory was followed by the alarm that the enemies will recover lost ground, that they will drown in blood the red dawn of the proletarian resurrection, and the struggling man and the vanquished are more in need of help than the victor. There was no doubt possible—a few hours after the world was informed of the seizure of power by the Russian proletariat, the latter should have known that it is his active ally, that the *general strike is not only the Russian method of struggle*.

I knew that I could easily convince the other members of the commission of the justness of my decision, but I expected from other Zimmerwaldians who were in Stockholm, protests and, may be, resolutions against the publication of the manifesto. I was right in my expectations. Many expressed doubts as to whether all the members of the Zimmerwald organisation approved of the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, as to the future of that revolution and as to the attitude of the non-Bolshevist Zimmerwaldians. It was recommended "to wait." I, on my part, was convinced that Zimmerwald would dig its own grave and die an inglorious

death if it refused to amalgamate with the only revolutionary movement, which is the logical corollary of its watchwords, that the fate of Zimmerwald is inextricably bound up with the Russian proletarian revolution.

A few hours later the printing machines and the telegraph wires began to work with feverish activity—a special number of the paper of the Swedish Left Socialists was appearing and the manifesto, translated into all the European languages, proclaimed to the world that the Russian proletariat was not alone.

In view of the inadequacy of periodical communications with the belligerent countries and in view of the increased political frontier guard, it was impossible to ascertain in Sweden what was the immediate actual effect of the manifesto on the outbreak of the strike movement in each country. We knew even then, however, that it gave a signal to the workers of Germany and of Austria; the manifesto spread there in a million copies, and when there were increased persecution of its propagators and supporters, it was learned by heart and transmitted from mouth to mouth. It became the heritage of "every workshop where the workers were groaning beneath the burden of their work, in every hovel where poverty and misery rule supreme." We must visualise that period and try clearly to see the temper of the masses in those days in order to understand that the publication of that international appeal to the international proletariat could but serve as a signal to the rousing of active revolt among the masses. The sanguinary experiment of the imperialist war had gradually sobered the workers from patriotic intoxication and fatal egotistic indifference. They started to regard their "evil shepherds" who betrayed their trust with hatred and contempt. They were at last coming everywhere to the idea that a powerful collective pressure was needed to "put an end" to all this. The course of the war led the unconscious unorganised masses to a more definite belief that "the end" must be not only the end of the war, but the end of the whole order which made them slaves. Simultaneously with the growth of the proletarian consciousness and outburst of indignation, the masses began to feel that any partial revolt is useless and powerless. It was gradually becoming obvious that the international proletarians must form one army, must stick to each other, both at the front and in the rear, but even there the uncertainty as to how "brothers and sisters" will treat them, whether they will understand and help them, killed in the bud any attempt to organise an active revolt. As to the conscious workers, they were gradually convinced of the necessity of international action and saw more clearly than the unorganised ones that every revolt of the masses will be drowned in blood not only by the military dictatorship but by friends, advisers and collaborators of the imperialist government—*the former socialists*, the leaders of the legalised trade union political organisations of the working class.

Just at that time—as is emphasised by the manifesto above referred to—these gentry have officially renounced in the name of the working class the right of organisation, which has been conquered in the course of many decades by the struggle of the proletarians. As is known, the conviction was strongest in Germany that an unorganised revolt is doomed to complete falure. The call addressed to these wavering despairing masses—who at one time were losing faith in themselves, at another were regaining it—a call from an organised centre appealing to the proletarians of all countries, awakened and rallied the masses, who were waiting for it with impatience. The historic January revolts of the Austro-German working class would have been, under the existing circumstances, impossible without such an appeal. I am dwelling mainly on the influence of the manifesto on the German working class for the following reasons. Germany, however ripe it may be for a social revolution, is more than any other country in need of a well organised movement. German Independents and Sparticists showed the greatest interest and displayed the greatest activity in the drafting and the spreading of the manifesto; the revolt of the German proletariat was of the greatest importance both on account of its intrinsic value and the way it was expected by the proletarians of other countries. For four years the workers and leaders of the proletarian organisations in Allied countries—with the exception of the revolutionary minority in England and France, and the overwhelming majority of the Italian Party—declared that as soon as the movement starts in Germany it will be joined by the workers of the whole world, but so long as the German people sleep—other nations will not venture an attack on the capitalist order.

This pretext was used by the social patriots of the Allied countries for the purpose of criminal demagogy and lulling the revolutionary tendency of the working masses. The call and the obligation taken on themselves by the Austro-German masses at last deprived the social patriots of the possibility of asserting that the general strike is only the method of barbaric Russia. In Allied countries the appeal had even a greater influence than in Austria and in Germany.

The historic January strike, which made the first breach in the stronghold of German-Austrian imperialism and was the first link in the chain of still unended mass revolts in all the countries, was an echo to the call eminating from Stockholm. It prepared the masses to the true conception and performance of their duties, and was, like the Brest negotiations, one of the sparks which light the fire of revolts of the working masses against the slavery of ages; throughout the whole world a fire which started in Russia with the October Revolution. After having thrown this last spark, the Zimmerwald movement was itself engulfed by the great fire of the Russian and world social revolution.

A Russian to an Englishman on Intervention

By C. Timiriazev, F. R. S.

RECENTLY a very pleasant young Englishman visited me. Unacquainted he came to me, a sick old savant, and expressed the view that at the present moment the horror of a possible collision between our nations is approaching; no man, neither from one side or form the other, should remain silent. Every man, myself included, should raise his weak voice, so that by means of a united force to avert an irreparable misfortune. Seeing the truth of his words I had no rest from that moment. I shall of course, not be able to say anything that has not already been said by every honest Russian; not those who are now awaiting to have a constitution granted them by an English mayor or colonel and are, by the way, expecting "a tip" themselves. But if things be considered in this light every one will be silent. Another consideration is, what is to be done to make the words of a Russian reach the ear of the British public under the exiting conditions of censorship and official lies with which the modern dictators of England have surrounded the free English nation? The polyglot publications that have been undertaken by the Soviet government will, perhaps, succeed in overcoming this obstacle. This is what I, an ordinary Russian, would say to the imaginary ordinary Englishman, provided, of course, the latter was willing to listen to me.

H. G. Wells's Mr. Brittling, indignant with the war, calmed his conscience by saying: "I am not responsible for the actions of Sir Edward Grey." But he was wrong. It is an old adage, "A people have the government they deserve." I am not a politician on whom the fate of a nation depends, neither am I a representative of the press bound to make public the "whole truth"; I am not even an historian who is obliged to impart to his people his knowledge of the past in order to help them the better to understand the present. I am merely a savant who has lived for a long time and has acquired the irresistible impulse to endeavour to understand that which is going on around him and to co-ordinate his activities accordingly. I am one of the millions of responsible human being upon whom responsibility of a nation rests.

The measure of responsibility is in dependence on the amount of freedom a nation enjoys; it is the greater the less the freedom a nation has. Only stupidity of slaves can say: "We are not at fault, it is our rulers." Nations that have been enslaved but have not lost the sense of the ignominy of their slavery, must struggle against their oppressors until they are overthrown. The conditions under which the Russian people had to perform this duty before history were terrible as no nation in the world has experienced. The Russian people suffered the worst form of slavery, one that was in addition masked by an abominable comedy of parliamentarism, concocted by Stolypin, Gutchkov, the Sablers and the like, and played by Miliukov, Purishkevitch, Maklakov, "tutto quanti," and which served as a screen to veil the shameful alliance* of the "advanced democracies of Europe" with her last Asiatic despotic government. Completely ruined and bleeding the Russian people yet found sufficient strength to perform this duty before history, as has been acknowledged by every country. The English rulers counted on retaining the same number of Russian bayonets, whilst they themselves would be free of the name of being allies of the Russian Tzar. They felt confident that the lackeys of their proconsul, Lucano Miliukov, and others, would concoct and perform a still more shameful constitutional comedy. But the Russian people and those who served them honestly saw the trouble in a different light; in the process of achieving their freedom they have put an end to the most shameful mainstay of militarism forever; it was not surprising that "Peace!" was their victorious war cry. A simultaneous revolution and war of this kind are beyond the power of any people. A nation, like an animal, is not capable of being skinned twice. But most important of all is the fact that the revolution exposed the Philistine lies alleging the war to have been waged against militarism, but for the militarism of the Lombard street magnates, who were soon joined by the magnates of Wall street; and against the maturing general socialist revolution. But the lackeys of the English Proconsul having found themselves in the position of ministers of a young republic, treacherously kept the people's desperate cry for peace a secret, and making use of the world censorship alleged the Russian people to be impatiently anxious for war. The fruits of the February Revolution secured by the Petrograd workers and soldiers, had, by virtue of its having by chance been carried out on the crest of the revolutionary wave, fallen to the lot of the representatives of the capitalist class, who by the deliberate postponement of the convocation of the Constitutional Assembly, by the evident desire to repeat the June Paris days of 1848 by the shameful comedy of the Moscow conference and finally by the two treacherous attacks upon Petrograd, which was only saved, thanks to the Bolsheviks, had made the second October Revolution absolutely inevitable. In the end the victory was on the side of the Bolsheviks, the various enemies of the Revolution being defeated.

You, from afar, may accuse the Bolsheviks of utopia, of a striving to make the most of the revolution, which has cost the Russian people so dear; but for an unbiased Russian it is impossible not to acknowledge that during its thousand years of existence Russia has not had a government which possessed so much honesty, brains, knowledge, talent and loyalty towards the people as are now to be found among the Bolsheviks. The names of Lenin, Trotsky, Tchitcherin, to mention no others, form an historical treasure. To speak of others, imple-

*In this connection Germany must be given her due. She expected moral responsibility only from the people of France and England; of Russia she spoke with contemptuous condescension "This is an autocracy."

ing by such the robber bands whose sole basis of union is their mutual hatred of the revolution. Bands which are led by the former Tzarist servants—men responsible for the great war—bands which have shown an utter incapacity for fighting against the external enemy, bands which have only succeeded in making rapacious raids upon their unfortunate native country, depending in these feats on the aid of the enemy, of the Germans to-day, on the Entente the next, or of both simultaneously, as governments either showing complete ignorance of the course of events, or having an evident desire to deceive the ignorant. In spite of the briefness of this article I should be loth to make any uncorroborated statements, and I will therefore recall only the most outstanding facts. What an astonishing knowedge and political foresight was evinced by Lenin in this prophecy of the revolution in Germany. A prophecy which was looked upon as the raving of a fanatic and which has come literally true a few weeks afterward; or take his confidence that the "Brest Peace," having given the Russian people a necessary respite, would in a short time vanish, to leave no trace. It would, indeed, have vanished had not the Allies continued the Kaiser's undertaking of offering protection to the Esthonian barons. Draw a pencil mark on a map and see what Bolshevist Russia was a year ago, thanks to the same Allies, who dreamed of resuscitating the Tzarist order, and what it has become now. Let us put to ourselves the question whether any country has been compelled to carry on a fight on a front of such dimensions, and we shall duly appreciate the Bolshevist Carnot and his able collaborators, who for the first time in history have actually created a people's army—a red army, capable of defending its country, of defeating the enemy. Read Tchitcherin's notes and you will find for the first time in history the production of truthful diplomacy, the kind of diplomacy your Independent Labour Party with its demand for democratic control is only dreaming of as yet. To this most terrible condition that any nation has ever found itself in, add the unceasing labour in connection with education and the numberless schools that have come into existence, the reading rooms and lecture halls that have sprung up, the raised level of the ethical development of the people, thanks to the theatres, concerts and lectures really serving the needs of the people, the unprecedented demands for books, successfully supplied by Soviet initiative, consider all this and you will appreciate the real value of the brazen calumny concerning Bolshevist vandalism as spread by the hireling press of the world.

And to think that all this terrible calamity suffered by the unfortunate country has been caused by the government of the British people, with whom this country is not at war, and by the expenditure of the English people's constantly decreasing resources. From my childhood I was accustomed to see in *Punch* the picture of the brutal Cossack with his whip as an illustration of the hatred of the British people for Tzarist Russia; now this Cossack is proclamed by Parliament as "a friend" of the British people for their prowess of helping to drive liberated Russia back to the Tzarist yoke. I have before me photographs of bridges treacherously blown up on the Volga—this "civilised" exploit was paid for by British agents! But the horror exceeds all limits when one learns that all this was done not for reasons of a local strategic purpose but with a general diabolic aim to starve the non-combatant people, especially the women and children. What has become of the endless discussions at The Hague and other conferences concerning the numerous devices to avert the suffering of non-combattants from the effects of the war? The modern ruler asserts with pride: "Nous avons changé tout cela" ("We have changed all that"); war waged without war being declared; war waged by hired assassins; war against starving millions of innocent people;* war for the victory of which all means are considered fair, right down to the treacherous abuse of the inviolability of embassies (Noulens, Lockhart), an inviolability which is respected even by savage nations—this is the last word of the celebrated International law as practised by those who rule the English people. All this is being committed against the Russian people, who have never harmed, who have no desire to harm, and who, in fact, can render no harm to the English people

I know your reply: What about our interests, what about the Tzarist loans which you do not acknowledge?** But Tchitcherin long ago proved that the war was undertaken against Russia in the interest of the owners of the Tzarist loans. (It is because the element of risk involved makes the loans appear more profitable). Did he not elucidate that in the long run the Soviet government may prefer to pay a financial ransom rather than inflict upon the nation a fresh ransom of blood? I cannot, however, renounce the following, by no means political but purely ethical considerations: I remember Sir Howard Grey, at the London Conference held in connection with the sharing of the Turkish booty by the Balkan allies,** expressing the idea that the share of the booty should correspond to the extent of the sacrifices which have been sustained by every participant. The first item, of course, should be the loss sustained in men—in blood. At Paris the present conquerors are drawing up this total, and the newspapers have already stated that the number of English soldiers killed in the war amount only to a few hundred thousand. It is likely these figures are published for home consumption, so to speak, to appease those who are dissatisfied with the war. But in Russia the figures run up to millions. We ask, did the Versailles conquerors total up the number of the victims who had taken upon themselves the first blows and thus diverted considerable German forces, without which the result of the famous Marne victory would have been quite different? Or have the conquerors only counted the amount of gold which was paid for the equipment and provision of these victims? (It is a well known fact that the ammunition was late.) Even had Shylock received his pound of quivering human flesh he would not have the impudence to demand the gold for which this pound of flesh was pledged.

Only the modern Shylock, armed with tanks and machine guns are capable of this. The loan that was granted was paid for by the people's supply of cannon fodder, whilst the money itself has been received by a third party—the Tzar and his adherents, the latter are

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*Lord Cecil, as reported by the newspapers, declared in Parliament that 20 millions of the Russian population are doomed to death by starvation.

**I involuntarily recall one of the first conversations I had on the occasion of my first visit to England half a century ago. At that time impressions of the Crimean War were still fresh, and I remember a statement made by the amiable now deceased Professor G.: "You know", he said, "We are a nation of shopkeepers, and we were profoundly touched when Nicholas, in spite of the war, offered to pay the interest due to us." It is understood, of course, that this was said ironically.

now besieging the doorsteps of the London and Paris statesmen in the hope of receiving something for their people's blood, that is now being shed, or even expecting, to be paid in "advance" for that which is yet to be shed.

I am perfectly aware of the idealist naïvité of these words. Politicians and diplomats have for a long time now armed themselves with the axiom that ethical demands which bind separate individuals are not obligatory for them. This creed has been so successful that we now witness the contrary—individual personalities (profiteers, traitors, etc.) have become contaminated with the *flexible conscience* of their rulers.

But when ethical considerations become silent, considerations of another order still retain their force even with rulers. The conquerors in their turn suffer from a naïvité of a different kind. They are always confident that their victory is final, everlasting. This, of course, is how things are regarded at the present time in London and Washington. But he who has lived long in the world loses faith in final victories. I was a contemporary of the greatness of Nicholas I., of whom you were a little afraid, and whom you overthrew; for this eternal thanks are due you.* I was a contemporary of the greatness of Bismarck, before whom your you were friendly inclined, but whom you did not save, and most likely for good reasons.** I was a contemporary of the greatness of Bismarck, before whom you diplomats played a servile part,*** and of the greatness of the whole edifice which now lies wrecked, thanks to American milliards. All attempts at world domination ended in a fiasco. It will be said that it is different now; formerly world domination was striven after by individual militant empires, whereas now it is done by a whole "trust" of militarist empires. Is not this surplus force the very pledge of their weakness? There is an old adage to the effect that robbers are friends in the looting, but fall out in the sharing. Whoever doubts the veracity of this, should recall the recent instance of the Balkan Federation. Is the sincerity of the Entente (Entente Cordiale) guaranteed forever? Can you not hear already the ominous cracking of the jerry-built Temple of Peace? Does not the coming rivalry between England and America form a greater menace than the former country's recent rivalry with Germany? Has the friendship that has sprung up between America and Japan become sufficiently solid? And, finally, what about France? The old jest, that if you wish to make an enemy of a man, lend him money, is true. Is it likely that France will retain towards her two benefactors only sentiments of unlimited gratitude?

Upon the defeat of France in 1871 somebody, I do not remember who, invented a witty alteration of "vae victis"—"vae victoribus." That was supposed to console France. I recall the condescending smile of the Germany that had achieved a complete victory; it was as much as to say, that it may be a consolation to you, but we know what we know. Only now have they fully comprehend the profound sense of these words. Do your Lloyd George and Churchill (of the Dardanelles) indeed imagine that the work of their hands is *final* and will ultimately not fall upon their heads, or rather upon the head of the nation that obeys them? That happened in the above-mentioned three instances. I will add an equally recent instance.

Fifteen years ago I confronted Romanov and his adherents with the threat that their policy of "oderunt dum metuant" (let them hate, so long as they fear us) will lead them to ruin. Less than twenty years passed and my prophecy became true, and that to an extent never expected neither by me nor any one else. Does the British nation seriously presume that the present government which has seized power and is thus sowing hatred in all parts of the world—in Germany, Russia, Ireland, Hungary, Turkey and Prussia, India and Egypt—do they seriously presume that this government is preparing for them years of prosperity and peace? Those who are guided by the principles of "oderunt dum metuant" sooner or later become equally convinced of the truth of the saying, "vae victoribus"—this is the result of my seventy years observation of modern politics. Yes, seventy years, as I very well remember two pictures on the pages of *The London Illustrated News*, probably of 1849. On one of them was depicted the solemn entry into London of the defeated Kossuth; the other represented the workers of Barby & Perkins' brewery attacking with sticks the victor, the contemptible Austrian General, Haynau, who also dared to appear in London. Now after seventy years I read that the British government is massacring the liberated Hungarian people and making attempts to force upon their necks the detested Hapsburg. And the British people suffer this; truly "tempora mutantur."

It is, however, time to sum up this long argumentation. At the beginning I drew the attention to the difference between the obligations of a free people and of a people that is subjected, and I attempted to make a brief reminder of the way the Russian people performed this duty. They were deceived by foreign, and, what is worse still, by their own traitors, who assured them that they were fighting against "imperialists" and were engaged in the work of liberating somebody or other. It is only after having bled white that the Russian people have understood that they were deceived, but they still found sufficient power to destroy the militarism that was nearest to them; they gained liberty and demanded peace; they appealed to other nations to do likewise.

What, then, is to be expected of a people who once justly prided themselves upon their freedom? Surely that they will first of all regain the liberty that they were deprived of; that they will refuse to be executioners of other nations by the order of their oppressors, and will finally, together with such nations, form an alliance to gain a wider and more secure freedom for all nations—being aware that only these nations will be in a position to protect themselves in the future from "militarism" and from interminable war.

I apologise for the great fervour of my words. This is undoubtedly to be explained by the fact of my origin. I am a Russian, but my Russian blood has a large admixture of English blood. It is possible that at this minute I am being prompted by the blood of the liberal

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*Whenever I pass the statue of Palmerston I feel inclined to raise my hat.

**I well remember the article in the Times which appeared in the spring of 1870; the gist of it was that every sensible Englishman ought to breathe freely now that war has broken out. What was to be feared was not war but peace. If they had placed their armies on the Rhine and had come to an agreement, France and Germany would have shared the booty. The former would have taken Belgium, the latter Holland.

***This is well known to Balfour, one of the heroes of the Berlin Congress of 1878.

Englishman of the good old-fashioned school; the Englishman whose political catechism contained the following two rules:—do not interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, and sympathise with the people who overthrow the yoke of despotism. Let us at least recall the attitude of Gladstone to King Bomba and the Neapolitan revolution. These two principles would be flagrantly infringed by any form of *intervention*, whether apparently honest, in an open fight, or, what is incomparably more shameful, by the hands of hired assassins, of foreign or Russian traitors.

May this cruel, even though temporary calamity pass the Russian people, and may the British people be spared this unpardonable blotch upon their honour—this is the hope of an old man who is experiencing moral suffering for the two parties.

Moscow, Sept. 1919.

The International Policies of the Two Internationals

By George Tchitcherin

THE international policies of the Yellow and the Communist Internationals have nothing in common, in fact they are totally opposed to each other. The international policy of of the Communist International is as clear and definite as the Bern-Lucerne international is vacillating and unprincipaled. The policy of the latter consists in partial amendments to the foreign policy of the dominating great powers. It is a policy of sticking small patches on the Imperialist coat of the Entente. We find a long list of such petty patches at Berne and Lucerne, in the declaration of the commissions elected at those congresses, and in the parliamentary activity of parties that are in close touch with the above commissions. Various questions and points of official diplomacy are discussed: about Sleswig, Memel, Tyrol, Syria, Georgia, a series of other newly formed republics, and on all those questions and points the Yellow International either upholds the decision of the great powers or offers some partial amendments. The purpose of these amendment, is to make the political system of the great powers somewhat less hateful, and to mitigate the too obviously rapacious character of that system. The League of Nations is glorified, only its partial improvement is demanded. Various amendments are proposed to the Versailles treaty, but nothing is said with regard to the cession of the Saar mines and contribution to be paid by Germany. A wish is expressed to allow Germany to retain her colonies. The fundamental idea is the belief in the possibility of attaining all the necessary changes by means of negotiations with governments The politicians of the Yellow International, like flunkeys, hover round official diplomacy to clean its dress and give it a more decent appearance. In its essence the international policy of the Yellow International means only subservience to the diplomatic system of the great powers. That policy only criticises details, leaving the impression that the present governments are capable of conducting a foreign policy in the interests of the masses. This activity of the Yellow International can in fact only strengthen the official political system, increase its authority in the eyes of the masses, and postpone the moment of its inevitable bankruptcy.

The foreign policy of the Yellow International is essentially a direct and logical continuation of the foreign policy of the Second International as it began to shape itself before the war. The programme on the solution of the Eastern question by the Second International at Basle in 1912, when war threatened Europe, was regarded as an attempt of the international to carry it positive programme on foreign affairs.

The socialist press of various countries pointed with great pride to the Basle resolutions, which were supposed to open a new chapter in the history of the socialist movement, namely the beginning of the positive work of the International in the sphere of diplomacy. Unfortunately, the question of its positive work in the sphere of foreign politics has hardly been dealt with at all. Personally, I can recall only one article by Rosa Luxemburg on the foreign policy of Jaurès, which dealt with it only incidentally. It was taken for granted that foreign policy was only a continuation of home policy, that it was inseparable from the latter and the question of distinguishing one from the other was never touched. It was therefore considered very desirable to elucidate the positive tasks of the socialist parties in foreign politics. In various countries that task was undertaken by parliamentary statesmen of the type of Jaurès. The Yellow International at Berne and Lucerne is only continuing that tradition,—wholly in keeping with the commonplace views held in this respect during the last years before the war—by worrying over the fair solution of the questions of Georgia Armenia, Fiume, etc., thus rendering invaluable services to world reaction.

There was an entirely different line in home politics. Not one socialist section could doubt that it had a precise and definite programme in the domain of home politics within the limits of the existing order. During the last period of the existence of the Second International parliamentary activity was not of a purely declarative character, for every tendency in the socialist movement and every individual socialist—whatever his opinion of the importance which various victories achieved in parliaments might have on the course of the proletarian struggle—tries to contribute to those victories in a direct way, just as the labour movement was striving to obtain them by economic struggle, outside the walls of parliament. The minimum programme was understood in different ways by the many socialist tendencies, but none of them could refuse to fight for the immediate realisation of any part of the minimum programme. The every day political and economic struggle

consisted in continuously wringing concesion from the governing classes, i. e., the struggle consisted in the execution of the positive programme within the limits of the existing order.

The foreign policy was essentially different. Home politics is a ground upon which labour and capital, people and government, working class and ruling class, are brought face to face. It is precisely here that the ruling classes were compelled by political struggle to make one concession after another, it is here that socialists carried out their positive programme within the limits of the existing order. Foreign politics is the relation of one state to other states, i. e., to partners or competitors in world plunder, the relation between strong states and weak ones, and finally the attitude to colonies, which are mere objects of plunder. Two elements can be distinguished in foreign politics; first, the system of political combinations, alliances and hostilities; i. e., means for the attainment of ulterior objects of foreign policy; secondly, those very objects which can be reduced to two categories—defensive and offensive. One aim in the foreign policy of all governments always consisted in the defense of its possessions. It was necessary at any moment—by means of international combinations—to be so strong that a rapacious enemy who desired to snatch from that country either an integral part of it or some one of its possessions could not do it without a fight, owing to the opposing forces of a diplomatic coalition. Diplomacy was one of the weapons of national defense, it added and complemented the troops guarding the frontiers, fleets guarding the shores, fortresses and defending dangerous points. The second group of aims of foreign policy consists of annexations, over which the capitalist governments fall out, though they may have previously helped each other in acquiring them.

The attitude of the Second International to national defense was, as is well known, never thoroughly analysed. This still remains an open question. The Stuttgart and Copenhagen resolutions contain the most irreconcillible contradictions, which were so dramatically revealed during the war. But the revolutionary wing of the Second International has to a certain extent shown its hostile attitude to so-called national defense, and definitely declared against voting for war credits. The socialists, by defending the capitalist state in matters of military defense, would thereby upohld the whole system of the dominion of the class enemy; and similarly if they declared their solidarity with the foreign policy at their governments, even in so far as its object was purely defensive, they would be doing the same. There is no differenc between the defense of the country by armed force or by diplomacy. During the war the French social traitors supported martial law in France as well as in Russia. The whitewashing of Tzarism in England was part and parcel of the defense of the country as understood by social traitors. Other parts were speeches at meetings in support of the government coalition, the prevention of strikes, the abandonment of trade union privileges.

The offensive foreign policy of capitalist governments were from beginning to end a scheme of robbery. Such actions, as at first sight contradicted that definition, such as intervention on behalf of persecuted Armenians, the intercession of Wilhelm II. for the Boers, the Tzarist policy in the Near East during its so-called liberation period, were in fact moves in the same game of robbery or else cleverly concealed attempts to advance in that direction. The socialist parties that deserve that name should treat that political system of robbery with the same uncompromising hostility as the Stuttgart Congress treated all colonial policies without exception. We can say that colonial policy is the most clearly defined and typical example of capitalist foreign policy. The revolutionary wing of the International under these circumstances could not have a positive policy on foreign politics within the limits of existing state relations, it could have only a negative programme i. e., of putting obstacles in the way of foreign policy of the existing governments. The tasks of the revolutionary wing of the international in matters of foreign policy were to fight against colonial policy, against armaments, against war, against all open and secret annexations.

These tasks were purely negative. Equally negative was the programme of solving the Eastern question, as worked out at the Basle Congress. It consisted in proposing a federation of all the Balkan nations in contradistinction to all the combinations proposed by the existing governments to solve that question. That Balkan Federation could only be formed by fighting both the great powers and the Balkan governments as they then existed. This was more a component part of the revolutionary programme for the Balkan nations themselves than a programme of foreign policy. It was called foreign policy by mistake. The commonly accepted notion, that by adopting the Basle resolutions, socialist parties had started positive work in the field of foreign policy, is also due to a complete misunderstanding. There was no such positive work in he Basle resolutions; they only contained watchwords for the Balkan nations with which to fight their own governments. The instructions given at Basle to socialist parties of other countries bore a purely negative character, and merely showed the necessity of combatting the foreign policy of their own governments. The Basle resolutions only lay it down that the revolutionary wing of the International could have no positive programme at all on foreign policy, that it could only follow a negative policy, making its business the obstruction of the policy of capitalist governments.

The so-called home politics is the field in which labour and capital stand face to face. The positive programme of the socialist parties in this field consists in the following: The working class, by means of a political and economic struggle force the governing class to yield one position after another. International politics is the field where capitalist governments are facing each other and the oppressed countries. Therefore, as I have said, the revolutionary wing of the socialist movement could only adopt a negative programme in international politics; i. e., to prevent the combinations and robberies of capitalist governments. But a subject country or a colony can fight and revolt against its oppressors—the captialist governments—just as the workers do in their own countries. The task of the socialist movement in any given country consists therefore in preventing its government from crushing the revolting oppressed country; a purely negative task, as pointed out before. The socialist movement, however, has another task to perform; to render not only negative but also positive assistance to the revolting country. The working class has thus its own proletarian foreign policy. In this case it consists in the rendering of immediate aid to the victims of the capitalist government. Such activity on the part of the working class of any country is not limited to the instance of rebellion quoted above, but

extends to all the struggles in its own country and abroad between oppressed bodies of men and the capitalist governments; generally speaking, between oppressed and oppressors. We can say that proletarian foreign policy expressed the whole activity of the International. The activity of the International as such was in itself proletarian international policy, distinct from the government foreign policy and wholly opposed to it. In the field of foreign politics the task of the working class—in so far as it was revolutionary—consisted in opposing its own proletarian international policy to the foreign policy of the government; i. e., to wage a class war on an international scale.

In home politics the positive programme was being carried out by snatching from the government one advantage after another. Could not the working class act similarly in foreign politics in each individual case by not only perventing its government from doing certain things; i. e., fulfilling a negative task, but also by forcing it to fulfill the positive aims of the proletariat, thus carrying out the positive programme of foreign policy within the limits of the existing order? If the working class can help some revolting oppressed territory, why could it not compel its own government to help that territory? That was precisely the sophistry which used to lead the bourgeoisie reformers of the labour movement astray. In many cases the governments not only willingly fulfilled such wishes of the reformers, but even undertook the initiative in these matters themselves. The policy of the great powers in Turkey consisted in the alleged attempt to help the oppressed against the oppressors. It is enough to mention this instance to realise that the revolutionary thinking proletariat could help any oppressed body of men only in one way: By helping it directly without any intermediaries. Any interference on the part of the rapacious capitalist governments in any fight of the oppressed against the oppressors in any part of the world would only mean that a new object will be drawn into the sphere of their rapacious combinations. If the revolting nation could attain its object by its own forces it would undoubtedly be the gainer thereby, but if any presumably good results are due to the good offices of this or that rapacious capitalist power, even under the pressure of socialists, then we may be sure that that power, being itself the instrument of fulfillment of a presumably liberating task, had the possibility of fulfilling it in accordance with the demands of its rapacious policy. World relations are so mixed up, and the predatory interests of each capitalist power are so interlaced with the political relations of the whole world that each individual local task is bound to be fulfilled by each power in accordance with its world policy. The attempts made by socialists to render assistance to any oppressed group through the medium of a capitalist government, gave the latter a possibility of making new combinations such as would favour their world policy of plunder and to cheat the masses by their support.

The fact that any change of the political frontiers would open up to the imperialist governments of the world a wide vista of realising their piratical combinations, the revolutionary wing of the socialist movement was quite right in considering its duty to be to fight within the existing political frontiers, not to strive for any alteration of the latter. It is from this standpoint that it dealt with the questions of Poland, Alsace Lorraine, and other irredentist territories. In this question the revolutionary wing fully realised the inadmissibility of a positive programme in the field of foreign politics in the existing order. Unfortunately its attitude to foreign politics in general was never formulated in an exhaustive and systematic way. It is the absence of clearness in the formulation of this question that gave the opportunity to a considerable part of the politicians of the socialist movement to busy themselves in foreign politics in a manner highly prejudicial to the revolutionary proletariat. Before the conclusion of the Franco-British alliance, Jaurès constantly agitated in its favour, regarding such pseudo-democratic alliance as a valuable counterbalance against the reactionary alliance with Tzarism. During the general scramble over Macedonia, when France, England and Italy put forward their schemes of reforms for that country in opposition to the Austro-Russian programme, some naïve socialists supported by Germany imagined that this political combination was an extremely important democratic gain—the beginning of the union of democratic nations against the reactionary nations. The arguments of social traitors during the war were essentially the same as those of socialists at the period of the Macedonian reform scheme. The social traitors kept up in their entirety the traditions of the Second International. Similarly in Germany Bernstein was agitating in favour of an alliance with Britain, following the old traditions of the German free-thinking party Jaurès went even further: in a series of brilliant speeches, made during his parliamentary career, he constantly urged the French government to open up a new era of foreign policy, based on justice, loyalty, progress, etc. We can say that it is precisely in the domain of foreign politics that the complete utopia of petty bourgeois opportunism in the socialist movement is revealed. It is revealed as a helpmate and tool of the government policy in cheating the masses and in following piratical aims under noble pretexts. The governments of the most advanced capitalist countries have for a long time past been anxious to strengthen their predominance in their countries by considerable concessions to their own masses in order to have a free hand in their world robbery, which was for the oligarchy its chief source of profit. Sentimental dreamers like Jaurès, shortsighted and over-confident, were precisely the men they wanted. By their eloquence and sincere conviction they were helping their governments to acquire the support of the masses and to spread the idea that a democratic world policy was possible. They prepared the "civil peace" in the great war.

The Second International unfortunately did not go far enough. It only gave a correct definition to its purely negative task with regard to colonial policy, but not logical enough to apply it to the foreign policy as a whole during the present régime. This lack of clearness had the effect of enabling the governments to utilise the proletarian organisations in the interests of their war policy. The proletariat must never have a programme of active participation in the policies of the existing governments. The proletariat, however, did not realise it sufficiently clear and as a consequence considerable socialist groups demanded the internationalisation of the Dardanelles and other international reforms under the present régime. Asquith, who for the first time in the name of the British government, in his Dublin speech (autumn, 1914) demanded the creation of the League of Nations, was merely borrowing this slogan from pacifists and socialists.

When Bernstein and others were advocating the alli-

ance with the so-called democratic governments, they were not only following the traditions of the free-thinkers, but also based themselves on the authority of Marx, who gave the socialists of his day most definite directions in matters of foreign politics, namely, alliance with the bourgeois liberal governments against Nicholas I. The historic conditions in those days, however, were different. In the middle of the nineteenth century bourgeois society was not universally freed from the bonds of feudalism and despotism, and the creation of international conditions favourable to the free development of the bourgeois governments was a task in which the working class was also interested. The time had then arrived for the creation of national states, a condition precedent for the normal development of capitalist relations. In those days Marx was quite right in putting before the socialists positive tasks in foreign politics. Such a task was the fight against the international dictatorship of the despotic Nicholas I., although at the time of the creation of national states the revolutionary proletariat could not act as an ally of the reactionary monarchist governments, which undertook this task. Nevertheless, the task itself, considered in the abstract, appeared progressive. The next historic period passed under different conditions, when the bourgeoisie was complete masters of the state, and the remnants of the former regime became mere tools of triumphant capitalism. In home and foreign politics the remnants of the outwardly democratic forms were used only as a screen for the mismanagement of the capitalist oligarchy. There were no longer any progressive positive tasks in which the proletariat could be interested. In the last period of world history, international politics were exclusively a series of combinations made by rapacious capitalist governments. The revolutionary proletariat must hold itself aloof from all these combinations. It must do its utmost to help the victims of capitalist robbers, to help the oppressed classes and oppressed groups, and must refuse to co-operate with the diplomatic combinations of capitalist governments.

The situation changes entirely with the appearance of the workers and peasants' Soviet governments. For the first time after a long interval the revolutionary proletariat can again have positive aims in the field of international foreign politics. For the first time governments have appeared in whose support the international revolutionary proletariat is vitally interested. These governments put themselves in the centre of the whole world battle between the oppressed countries and groups and their oppressors. The revolutionary proletarian parties and groups of all countries are confronted with the task of fighting for the existence and the strengthening of the international status of the revolutionary Soviet governments. This new programm of foreign policy can only be adopted by those parties and groups which base themselves on the revolutionary Soviet system. Positive international politics can exist only for the groups that follow the Third International. The Yellow Bern-Lucerne International can only adopt towards the Soviet governments the timid attitude of non-intervention, it can only continue to follow its cringing pseudo-democratic tradition of the reformists of the Second International, to pretend to criticise teh reactionary capitalist governments, but in reality it thereby strengthens their position and helps them to hold out and cheat the masses.

The revolutionary Soviet governments are in a somewhat different position from that of the revolutionary parties. As de facto governments surrounded by other governments, they have to enter into certain relations with the latter and this circumstance imposes on them certain obligations, with which we have to reckon. A Commissary for Foreign Affairs, contributing to the organ of the Third International, must reckon with the position of his government, which is no longer a revolutionary party without a chance of being in power. At the same time, however, the revolutionary Soviet government by its character and aims is totally opposed to the capitalist governments and can in no way take part in their rapacious combinations. Its task is, therefore, to live or try to live in peace with all the governments, and carefully avoid all participation in any coalitions or combinations that serve to satisfy imperialist appetities. All the Soviet governments, being equally opposed to the capitalist governments, are natural allies by force of circumstances, but this can only be in a defensive sense, as they none of them have anything to do with any aggressive policy. State defense, which is the cornerstone of the international capitalist policy, is equally the first consideration of the Soviet foreign policy. With regard to the "defense of the country," if the country is a capitalist state, the revolutionary proletariat must not take any active part in it. On the other hand the defense of the workers' and peasants' Soviet government a matter in which the proletariat is primarily and vitally interested. But just as the defense of capitalist states is not only carried out by soldiers and guns, but in no less degree by diplomacy which strives to prevent the formation of hostile coalitions, against which guns and soldiers may be powerless—so in the defense of the Soviet government international political relations play a very important part, the object of diplomacy being the same; i. e., to prevent the formation of hostile coalitions. The object of international combinations is to obviate the danger of attack, and they also impose certain definite obligations. At the present historic moment, when forward their schemes of reforms for the country in the Soviet governments are surrounded by enemies on all sides, when they are beset with dangers and difficulties which threaten their very existence, they have to be very carful and reckon with the requirements of foreign policy. Soviet diplomacy has a purely defensive part to perform, but that part is highly responsible. Thus when we speak of the positive tasks of the Third International we cannot identify the communist parties with the Soviet governments where these parties predominate.

The Soviet governments not only take no part in any combintions of the imperialist governments but follow a diametrically opposite policy to theirs with regard to oppressed countries and bodies of workers, in particular to colonial nations and countries. The Soviet governments recognise the rights of these countries in general, and their rights to self-determination in particular. The very restrictions themselves, which are imposed on the Soviet governments, owing to their relations with other powers vary, and depend on political circumstances. In the first month of its existence, before the Brest treaty, the Russian Soviet Government followed a strongly declarative line, in the spirit of the world proletarian revolution. It is impossible to estimate the immense impression it created in those days. That impression left a permanent mark in the world labour movement and determined once and for all the attitude of the latter to the Soviet governments.

However hampered the present Soviet governments

may be in their activity, the left wing of the labour movement of all countries will always regard them as the central feature of their positive international policy. The socialist parties at the time of the Second International followed their international policy outside the international politics of state respective of their relations.

The Third International has its international policy of common aims and actions in all parts of the world. In the sphere of its international state relations its positive programme centres on the international position of the Soviet governments, on their political union, on their support by all who share their ideal. The very existence of the Soviet governments, the foundation of new Soviet republics, which took place before now and will, we expect, take place in the future all this entirely changes the attitude of the revolutionary wing of the world labour movement to all the current questions, big and small of official diplomacy. On the period of the Second International the revolutionary wing of the socialist movement could only adopt a purely negative attitude toward imperialist robbery on all the questions of international politics, such as the Syrian, Armenian, and others. At the present time the Third International opposes the definitive aims of the Soviet organisations and the prospect of an immediate liberation from the imperialist yoke to the robbery. History has set immediate revolutionary tasks for the foremost capitalist countries and the purely negative program contained in the Stuttgart resolutions with regard to the colonial policy, can be replaced by the immediate positive policy of forming free national states out of oppressed colonies, protectorates and spheres of influence. The Third International is striving to create such new free states in the shape of Soviet republics. Needless to say these tasks are inseparable from the fundamental revolutionary tasks in the foremost capitalist countries. The liberation of oppressed countries is only possible because the power of the oligarchies is so shaken in the dominating countries, that their world driving force has lost its former irresistibility. The more the world colonial power of the oligarchies of the foremost countries, irrespective of whether the capitalist governments of these oligarchies at home. The Third International stands for the liberation of the oppressed countries, irrespective of whether the capitalist governments are in power or have fallen in the dominating countries, but at the present moment it is impossible to foretell which is likely to occur first: the liberation or the fall. In any case the immense positive international programme of the Third International is only possible on its fundamental universal revolutionary basis. It is that basis which makes the programme possible, and creates a profound gulf between itself and the servile indefinite international programme of the Yellow Berne-Lucerne International.

The Establishment of the First International

By Riazanov

MORE than ten years elapsed after the revolution of 1848 had been put down before the Labour Movement, oppressed throughout all Europe came to life again, with renewed force, bearing on its rushing billows the International Fraternity of the Workers.

During this decade of political reaction and simultaneously with unexampled industrial prosperity, somewhat overshadowed by the Crimean War, there grew up in Europe a generation sunk in complete political indifference, from which it was awakened by the World crisis of 1857-1858. The political revival which began in 1859 once again brought to the front a number of social and national questions which the revolution of 1848 had left unsolved. The questions of the abolition of slavery in North America and the liberation of the serfs in Russia came to the front at the same time.

THE ENGLISH LABOUR MOVEMENT (1859—1860).

In England, where Chartism, after the unsuccessful attempt of Ernest Jones to inspire it with a class character, had lost in 1858 its last organ, and ceased to exist as a united political organisation, the labour movement definitely broke up. Once again the former tendency harmful even to Chartism, triumphed, a tendancy of splitting up, on the one hand, of forming parallel and competitive organisations, each having the same object, on the other. Not a trace was left behind of a united labour movement under a united leadership.

The political conditions were at that time particularly favourable to the development of this form of labour movement, which occupied itself very little with a direct struggle against the dominating reaction, and even took advantage of the cooperation of bourgeois philanthropists. The cooperation in the leading part of the labour movement in 1850 was taken by the cooperative socialist led by the Rochdale pioneers.

Thus 1850, in fact, was far from being a favourable year for the trade union movement. With certain rare exceptions, the trade unions managed to struggle along with difficulty. The tendencies which regarded political action as an obstructve element proved victorious.

The crisis of 1857 brought about an abrupt change in this situation. "The strike epoch," says the Webbs, "which commenced with the industrial stagnation of 1857 proves how delusive all hopes were."

Most important of all was the strike of the London builders, in favour of which all the English trade unions took a united action. During the half year (from the 21st July, 1859, to 6th February, 1860), this strike held the whole English working class in a state of tension. Its representatives and members of the committee, which was composed of delegates of the various

trade-unions, and amongst which it is necessary to mention G. Odger, the future chairman of the General Council of the International Federation of Workers, and Cremer, his future secretary, exposed the demands of the workers at meetings. "If political economy is against us",—exclaimed Cremer at a meeting in Hyde Park—"then we are against political economy." The whole struggle lies between the political economy of the working class and the political economy of the capitalist class.

The first strike of the builders ended in a compromise. For a time the workers renounced their principal demands. Nevertheless, this strike forms the turning point in the history of the English labour movement. The most pacific trade unions were drawn in to the struggle for the right of coalition. From the committees of trade unions which had been formed during the strike for the organisation of meetings, there originated in London and other places councils of trade unions, which from that time onward undertook to defend the general interests of the workers in their struggle against the capitalists. In the spring of 1861 when the second great building strike broke out, they were supported from the very beginning by an the London unions. The South London Council of trade unions used every effort to support the demands of the builders, and organised a campaign against soldiers being used as strike-breakers The deputation which was sent to the Government, and which was convoked on the initiative of the council by a meeting of the delegates of all the London trade unions was composed of Coulson, Cremer, Howell, G. Martin, J. Giss, G. Odger, all of them future members of the International.

The second strike of the builders gave the workers not only a full right to combine, but also a decrease of the working day to nine ohurs.

But the strike movement of 1859-1861, besides bringing together the local unions, and awakening class solidarity amongst the English workers, had also another important consequence. The employers who won their fight with the trade unions had constantly referred to foreign competition, now began to threaten the importation of cheap foreign labour. This threat was by no means an empty one, as was quickly shown by increased competition on the part of German workers,particularly in the tailoring trade. As a consequence of this, the propaganda of the trade union movement became a question which touched the vital interests of the English worker, and endeavours began to be made to build up connections with the Continental worker, particularly with the workers of France, Belgium and Germany.

The best means to this end were the various emigrants who had found refuge in London. After the majority of the French workers who had emigrated to America and, later on, after the amnesty of 1856-57 had returned to their native country, the centre of proletarian emigration became the "Communist Workers' Educational Alliance," the members of which were recruited principally from amongst artisans (tailors, painters, watchmakers) and, like Ekkarius and Lessner (who were both members of the old "Communist League"), took an active part in the English trade union movement.

Through the co-operation of emigrants the occasion soon arose to conduct immediate relations with the Continental workers. In May, 1862, the Third International Exhibition was opened in London, at which workers' delegations from various countries were present. The most numerous were the French.

THE FRENCH WORKER IN ENGLAND

Nowhere was the check to the revolution of 1848 felt so heavily as in France. The government of state coup d'état unrelentingly oppressed every independent movement of the working class. Simultaneously with all kinds of police measures and prohibitions, attempts were made by the Empire to conciliate the workers by means of ameliorating their material position, by a peculiar kind of "imperial socialism."

But the crisis of 1857-1858 called forth a revival in France in the same way as it had done in England. It at once put an end to all illusions with regard to state socialism. From the beginning of the crisis, despite the prohibition of combination, a strike movement appeared having for its purpose the maintenance of the former rate of pay. The excitement amongst the working population was very great. The Italian war, which was entered up against the will of the clergy in order to find an outlet for the discontent in the interior of the country, aroused excitement amongst the workers which was converted into a storm of indignation when the terms of peace became known. It was obvious that retreat was cut off. On the other hand it was not less clear that the further development of the Italian question could increase the discontent of the clergy. Only the workers, the free-thinking bourgeoisie and the petty-gentry could be used as a counter-balance. Hence, the first steps towards the "liberal empire" and the new friendship with England, as expressed in the commercial treaty of 1860.

The chief conveyer of liberal and anti-clerical tendencies into the imperial family was Prince Napoleon. His confidant was Arman Levy, a partisan of the 1848 revolution and the tutor of the children of the great Polish poet, Mitzkevich. In his newspaper, to the work of which he attracted representatives of various societies, he defended the cause of all oppressed nationalities, at the same time allotting considerable space to the labour question. He was successful in forming a group of Paris workers, who regularly supplied him with correspondence. Simultaneously, Levy published a number of brochures in which the demands of the workers were formulated in the spirit of imperial socialism. It was this group that gave birth to the idea of the formation of an Exhibition The chief intermediary between the workers and Prince Napoleon, the late president of the Imperial Exhibition Commission, was this same Levy. This notorious character of the workers' delegation was afterwards used in various hands as the trump card against the French members of the International.

The affair, however, turned out quite different. Another group of workers was found in Paris, chiefly from among the supporters of Prudhomme, who were inclined to participate in the delegation. At the head of this group stood Polak. It succeeded in securing the election of the delegrate by the workers themselves.

That it would be incorrect to regard the meeting of the 5th of August, 1862, triumphantly organised for the reception of the French workers delegation, as the starting point of the International Federation of Workers, is shown by the fact that the leaders of the English trade union movement took no part in the affair.

The real organizers from the first moment emphasised the fact that the meeting had been arranged not by the workers alone but by the employers as well. The meeting took place under the protection of these same gentlemen who a few months previously had been conduct-

ing a desperate struggle with the English workers. As a result no definite proposal was made to preserve steady relations between the French and English workers. What was given chief importance in the speeches of both the English and French was not the interests of the workers but those of industry, and emphasis was laid on the necessity of a compromise between employers and employed as being the only means of ameliorating the difficult position of the workers. Not one word was said in regard to the necessity of an international union of the workers in their struggle for emancipation. But notwithstanding this, the visit to the London World Exhibition was of great indirect importance, as being a very important stage in the friendship between the French and English workers. Contact with English comrades and personal knowledge of English conditions produced its fruit.

One of the chief consequences was the separation of the workers, who continued to swim with the imperialist-socialist tide from those workers led by Tolène and his friends, who desired to free themselves from any kind of tutelage.

There is no doubt whatever that the French delegates, probably through the intermediary of some of the members of French emigration, got into touch with the leaders of the English trade unions. Their relations with the latter were continued later on with the aid of those members of the French delegation who had settled down in London, as, for instance, E. Dupont, the future secretary of the French section of the International.

The connection which had been formed between the English and French workers at the time of the exhibition would, probably, soon have come to an end had not events—the cotton famine and the Polish insurrection—called forth a parallel movement on both sides of the Channel.

The cotton famine, which had been brought about by the civil war in America, became very acute in 1862-1863. The position of the Lancashire workers was terrible. The position of the French textile workers was no better.

Almost at the same time workers' committees for affording relief to the workers were formed in London with Odger and Cremer at their head, and in Paris with Tolène, Perrachon, Kinom, and others.

Activities in favour of the Polish rebels was also carried on at the same time. The English workers, in spite of the sufferings they were subjected to in consequence of the North American civil war, conducted an active campaign against their government, which was in favour of the slave owners, and organised a number of meetings to express their sympathy with the Polish insurrection of 1863 and to bring pressure to bear on the government in their favour. The delegation elected at the meeting held in St. James' Hall, on the 28th of April, 1863, with Professor Beasly as chairman, was received by Palmerston, but given an evasive answer. With a view to augmenting the pressure on the government, another meeting was held, this time with the participation of French workers. Tolène and his friends accepted the invitation of the English workers. The meeting was held on the 23d of July, 1863, in St. James's Hall. Cremer spoke in the name of the English workers and subjected the whole of the current policy of Palmerston to severe criticism, and Odger he charged with bringing about the war with Russia. Tolène also spoke in the same spirit and eloquently described the sufferings of the Poles, insisting upon the necessity of putting a stop to Russian cruelties.

Immediately the meeting was at an end a conference of the English and French workers took place, at which consideration was given to the necessity of a closer and more lasting friendship.

This time the initiative was undertaken by the London Trades Council, as the authorised representative of the London workers. On the 23d of July it organised a magnificent welcome to the French workers. Its secretary, Odger, welcomed them with a speech in which he expressed the hope that the day was not far distant when the workers of all countries would be united, when war and slavery would disappear in order to make way for freedom and general well-being. A Polish delegation was also present. The German worker, Weber, pointed out in his speech the possibility of a beneficial collaboration of the workers of various countries.

PREPARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' ALLIANCE.

It was resolved unanimously to address an appeal to the French workers. But three months (the 10th of November, 1863,) passed before the committee submitted the address to the second conference. The address was supported by Odger, Cremer and Appelgarth and unanimously accepted.

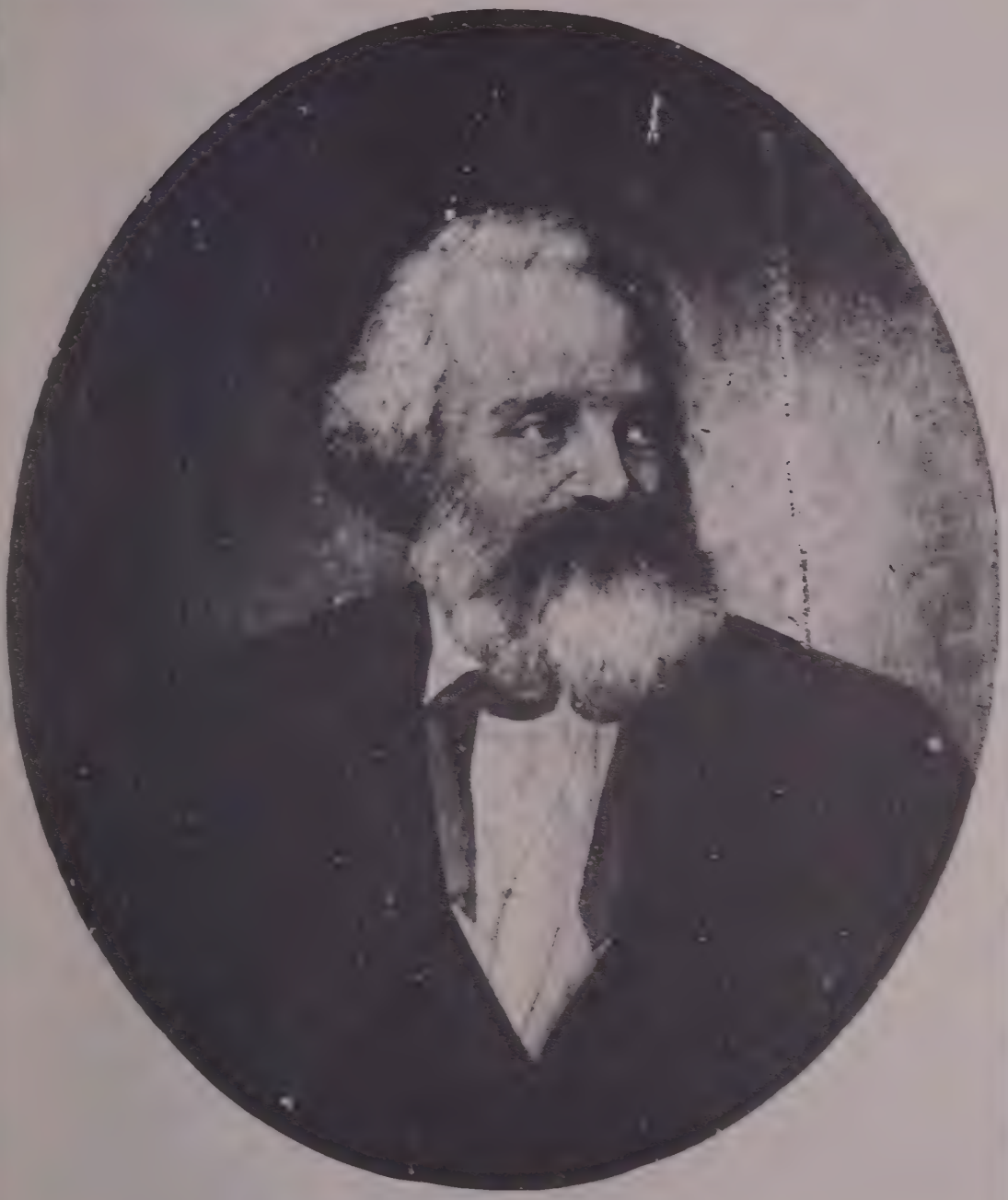
During the second half of November it was translated into French by Beasly and delivered to the French workers, who eagerly read it in all the suburbs of the town.

In this comradely appeal the idea was expressed that fraternity of the nations would be best guaranteed by an alliance of the workers of all countries. An International Congress was indicated as the means towards this friendship.

"Let us organise a conference of the representatives of France, England, Germany, Italy, Poland, and of all countries where a desire for general work in the interests of humanity at large exists. Let us assemble in Congress for the consideration of the great questions upon which the peace of the nations depend.

"Fraternity of the nations is most essential in the interests of the workers. Every time we endeavour to ameliorate our position by means of decreasing the working day or of increasing the rates of wages, our empoyers threaten us with the importation of French, Belgian, or German workers for the executon of our work at lower rates of pay. Unfortunately, this threat of theirs is put into effect. The blame for this, of course, cannot be placed on the ill will of our continental friends, but is due exclusively to the absence of proper connections between the wage workers of various countries. It is to be hoped, however, that this state of affairs will soon be brought to an end, as our endeavour to raise the low paid workers on a level with the better paid will soon prevent the employers from using one section of the workers against another in order to effect a possible reduction of our margin of wage to conform to their huckstering spirit.

The reply of the French workers to this address was received only after the lapse of eight months. This delay is explained by the fact that the French workers were preparing for the supplementary elections that were to take place in March, 1864. This was the first attempt at a political breach with the bourgeoisie. In a



KARL MARX

The original of this portrait in oil-colours was given by Maxim Gorky to the president of the Executive Committee of the Communist International — Comrade G. Zinoviev. The portrait is drawn from nature in London by the Russian painter Matveiev, author of the well-known picture „The Decabrists".

special manifesto ("The Manifesto of the Sixty"), composed by Tolène and signed by sixty workers, the necessity is proclaimed of the independent political activity of the working class. The fundamental basis of the manifesto is taken from Prudhommey with the difference, however, that our "sixty" stood for active participation in the elections, whereas, as is known, Prudhomme renounced this.

Only after the election had taken place were the relations with the English workers renewed. The intermediary of these relations was Henri Lefort and friends amongst the French emigrants in London. It was decided to hand the English workers a responding address through the intermediary of a special delegation, and on the 17th of September, 1864, the English workers' newspaper, *The Beehive*, announced that on Wednesday, the 28th of September, 1864, a conference would take place in St. James's Hall, at which a French workers' delegation would read an address in response to the English workers and propose a plan for a lasting agreement between the nations.

THE INAUGURAL MEETING.

The chairman of this meeting, which was crowded, was, as Marx tells us, the same Professor Beasly, who is already known to us as the chairman of the Polish meeting in 1863. After his speech, in which the necessity of a closer union between England and France was pointed out, and the hope expressed that the meeting would have as a result collaborative work and a fraternal alliance between the workers of England and the workers of all countries, Odger read the address of the English workers, which is already known to us. Tolène replied in the name of the French delegation.

"Workers of all countries, longing for freedom, the time has now come for us to organise a congress. Conscious of their strength, the people arise in revolt against political tyranny and economic despotism. Industry, which owes its progress to scientific inventions, almost daily develops its productive forces to still greater extent! the introduction of machinery, which facilitates the specialisation of labour, still further increases its power, whilst international treaties based on the freedom of trade open up ever greater spheres of development for us.

"Industrial progress, the specialisation of labour, the freedom of trade, these are three facts to which we must turn our attention, for they tend to essentially change the economic life of society. Compelled by the force of circumstances and the requirements of time, the capitalists have united themselves into a powerful financial and industrial union, and if we do not protect ourselves we shall be unrelentingly suppressed. We, the workers of all countries, must combine and put a definite limit to an order of things which threatens to divide humanity into a mass of hungry and brutalised people, on the one hand, and on the other into a clique of financial big-wigs and overfed Chinese dummies. Let us give one another fraternal help in the achievement of our aims. That is what our French brothers propose to our English brothers."

Lubez, who translated the speech of Tolène into English, thereupon expounded to the meeting the substance of the plan proposed by the French. A central commission made up of representatives of all countries is to be founded in London, and sub-commissions having direct relations with the central commission, are to be set up in all the principal towns in Europe.

The central commission places these questions before the consideration of the sub-commissions: the results of the consideration are submitted to the deliberations of the centre. Within the next year or two a congress is to be convoked in Belgium, composed of representatives of the workers of all countries for final decision in regard to the form of the organisation. After the address composed by Lefort had been read to the meeting, the following resolution was moved by Viller

"After having listened to the reply made to our address by our French brothers, we desire once again to welcome them. Seeing that their plan has been worked out on the basis of a workers' combine, the meeting accepts the project which it has listened to as the foundation of the International Society. At the same time it appoints a committee with the right to choose new members for collaboration in the working out of the rules and regulations of the stated society."

The resolution was supported by Ekkarius, in the name of the Germans; Major Volière, in the name of the Italians; Bocke, in the name of the French; Forbes, in the name of the Irish, and unanimously accepted.

This is all that we know about this historical conference. The members of the provisional central council gave instruction for the working out of the rules, but without any indications as to the lines which should be observed in compiling them. The name given to the society has also remained unknown. The task of giving a new form to the international union was left to the committee and the formulation of the principles of this combine became in this manner dependent upon the conflicting opinions existant within the said committee.

MARX AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

The principal merit in the compilation of the rules and programme of the newly born international union belongs to Karl Marx.

In the official report of this union, his name is mentioned for the first time in the list of members elected to the committee and is further mentioned at the bottom of the list.

This fact alone proves that his name was known to the organizers of the conference. In regard to this he states himself that:

"A certain M. Lubez was sent to me to enquire whether I was agreed to take part in the conference in the name of the German workers, put forward a German speaker at the meeting, and so on. I let Ekkarius, who managed his task very well, himself be present on the platform as a "substitute." I knew that both the London and French workers had put forward real "forces," and for this reason decided to swerve from my customary principle and for this time decline any such invitations."

The carpenter, V. R. Cremer, invited him to the meeting in a letter of the following contents:

"Mr. Marx,

"Dear Sir—The organising committee of the meeting respectfully asks you to favour it with your presence. Presentation of this note will give you admittance to the room where, at 7:30, the committee will meet. "Your truly,

"CREMER."

Thus, if it is impossible to call Marx the real founder of the International Society of the Workers, there is at

least no doubt that he was the leading spirit of the provisional general council right from its first meeting. With the assistance of Ekkarius he fought against all attempts to convert the new society into the former indefinite "International Association" or to amalgamate it with any kind of other organization such as the "World League," on the premises of which the meeting of the committee took place.

At the second meeting (28th of October, 1864,) the resolution put forward by Ekkarius and Whitlock in regard to calling the new society the "International Workers' Society" was accepted.

In the subcommission entrusted with the working out of the rules Marx was able to introduce his fundamental theses of socialism. It is true that in his struggle with the French and Italian revolutionaries he was compelled to make some compromises, but as a whole the inaugural address and declaration of principles brought forward by him received the support of the whole of the workers' section of the general council as giving the best expression to the demands of the working class. At the fourth meeting of the general council (1st of November, 1864,) Marx read his work which, with unimportant editorial alterations, was unanimously accepted.

From this day onwards the old International had a programme and could enter upon its work of propaganda.

The inaugural address of the International Society of the Workers ends with the same proclamation: "Proletariats of all countries unite!" which is the concluding words of the inaugural address of the "Communist League," the first to proclaim the united action of the workers of all countries as an essential condition of the emancipation of the proletariat.

That which had formerly been only the cry of an unimportant minority, international only in its programme, now became the cry of a workers' organisation, international not only in its programme but in its whole shape and form. Thousands of workers united in sections and groups of the old international in order to fight for their freedom, and the union of the proletriats of all countries which was founded by it, celebrates today its resurrection in the millions of proletariat which have joined the New International.

Polonia Militans

By Felix Kohn

AMONGST the states which encircle Russia like a ring of iron, Poland is one of the most prominent—one that up to a quite recent period, called forth the sincerest sympathy on the part of the whole revolutionary world on account of the heroic struggle against the states which subjected it. For those who had not investigated the interior life of Poland and are unacquainted with its social structure, for those to whom the acute class struggle that went on in its interior remained a secret, and who had no idea that it was possible for Poland to be at one and the same time so despotic and so oppressed—for those, the rôle which "independent" Poland has taken upon herself as the gendarme and the slayer of revolution, came as a complete surprise. The Poland of Kostushkov, who fought for the freedom of America; the Poland of Merolavski, participator in the revolution of 48; Doubrovski and Brublevski, heroes of the Paris Commune; finally the Poland of Grinevetski, Koblianski, Kviatkovski and Mirski, who fought side by side with Russian revolutionaries against Tzarism, and last of all Rosa Luxemburg; the Poland of these heroes cast us into the shadow of a Poland of another kind, a Poland of the bourgeoisie and nobility, one connected in blood and bone with the nobility and bourgeoisie of all countries and nationalities.

As long as the country was held in the tenacious grip of the Romanovs and Hohenzollerns, this Poland of the bourgeoisie and the nobility adapted itself to circumstances and made use of them to oppress its weaker nationalities and working class. It preserved a mask of oppressed innocence. It draped itself in the toga of martyrdom, and whilst complaining, to the whole civilised world that it was oppressed, had recourse to the service of the Tzarist gendarmes in its struggle against its own proletariat. Whilst making use of its privileged position, it adopted short measures in order to put down its Jewish competitors. Once this Poland stood revealed before the world in all its hideousness. The former symbolical heroes, Kostushkov, Dombrovski, Brublevski, were substituted by captains of industry, the ideology of the powerful petty bourgeoisie, Dmovski, Jeronski, Grabski—those same heroes who after the dispersal of the second Duma worked in close co-operation with Stolypin and Brobinskin, celebrated for their agreement upon a project of self-government, created by Stolypin and known to the working class of Poland by the name "the project of the honourable poseurs." According to this project for the Russianisation of Polish administration, the right to control was given not only over the political loyalty of the measures taken by the organs of self-government, but also over their expediency. The "patrician" Polish bourgeoisie reconciled itself with this; it also reconciled itself with the limitations placed upon the Polish language in use in the organs of self-government, as well as prohibition of Jews and workers in the work of self-administration.

Possessing full powers for the exploitation of the working class with its own competitive Jewish bourgeoisie, the Polish bourgeoisie right from the beginning of the war up to the October Revolution, found an unchangeable orientation in Russia, or to speak more truly, in Russia and Siberian markets, and in the conditions of labour exploitation, favourable for her but long since exhausted by Europe, of the Russian Empire under the sceptre of the Romanovs and their successors—Milinkov and Goutchkov, which did not lose their influence even during the Kérensky period.

The October Revolution gave an abrupt and complete change to the position. "It broke lose from the

Great Chain," struck one blow at the Russia bourgeoisie, and another at the bourgeoisie of the whole world, including that of Poland. The Dmovskys were startled, and scenting danger, began to double their measures of precaution. On the one hand they brought on the scene the social-patricians, as a sort of lightning-conductor, compromisers of the kind of Pilsudsi, Dashinski, Moravevski, a crowd of semi class-conscious workers, fantastic socialism which boasted the title of a "worker-peasant" government. On the one hand, these robbers, who had only received their release, entered into close collaboration with the mothers of imperialism of the west to fight against the menace of Bolshevism, and trading in the blood of the Polish workers and peasants, on the very bones of these victims set to work to establish their own welfare. Poland, which at one time prided herself on being the bulwark of Christianity, now plays the part of "Defender of Culture" from Bolshevism.

A thousand brutally tortured Jews, pogroms which surpass the brutality of Kishenev and Odessa during the period of the Tzar, bear witness to the character of this "culture." These pogroms are only half measures, secondary and small in comparison with the plans which the rapacious robbers of Polish imperialism, already almost in possession of their prey, have prepared in advance. And these plans have the object of substituting Poland in Russia's place in the concert of Europe. Pakulski and Dmovski are dreaming of the rôle which in former times was acted by Sazanov and Izvolski . . .

But for the realisation of these plans bourgeois Poland has knocked up against a dangerous competitor in the shape of a Denikin and Koltchak Russia. It is a matter of indifference to the Allies who, Russia or Poland, will tear the power out of the hands of the workers and peasants. For them it is important only that this be realised. It is for this reason that they simultaneously support a "united Russia" and a "united Poland," reserving for themselves the right to express themselves definitely one way or the other at the proper moment. For bourgeois Poland, however, it is by no means a matter of indifference. She understands that the victory of a "Great Russia," "united and indivisible," is the ruin of her independence, her hopes and dreams. For this reason, the temporary successes of Denikin rouses alarm in bourgeois Poland. Articles appear in the pages of the Polish press under the characteristic heading of "Whither?" and expressing doubts as to the expediency of an expedition to the Ukraine, and as to the correctness of their political course. . . .

One may affirm with certainty that all these appeals for a cessation of hostilities against Soviet Russia will remain "a voice crying in the wilderness." Dmovski and Paderewski know what is going on. They understand the substance of the present struggle, they have recognised its class character, and are willingly prepared to sacrifice their "dear fatherland" for the interests of their class. And if they had delayed in finding that out, then the Allied powers would not have hesitated to make use of the "bonev hand of famine" in order to force them to continue the struggle. As long as the negro has not done everything, the negro will not be released from the execution of his bloody tasks . . . Draw Dmovski's talons, and the bird of the Polish bourgeoisie will go astray. . . . The bloody business which has been started by the Polish imperialists can be put a stop to only by the Polish working class itself, acting in strict conformity with the working classes of all the world. A present, the feeling that the downfall of revolutionary Russia would be a loss to the international proletariat, has struck deeply into the minds of the working classes of the whole world. In some parts these masses resist passively, in other parts, including Poland, they are passing over to active resistance. This is the pledge of victory . . . The fate of Miliukov and Goutchkov awaits Dmovski and Paderewski. No earthly or heavenly power can save them from it.

The League of Nations and the Small Nations

By S. J. Rutgers

EVEN Bloody Nicholas concerned himself in 1918 with the question of a "Brotherhood of Nations" and a "Lasting Peace." At that time the king of the American Steel Trust, by endowing The Hague Palace of Peace, gave a touch of plausibility to the kingly lie. At the present moment the lacquey of the trusts calls for the insitution of a "League of Nations" in order that lasting, universal peace may be established. Wilson, in his speech of the 27th of September, 1918, says: "In my opinion, the establishment of this League of Nations as well as an exact definition of its task must form a definite part and, to a certain extent, an integral part of the Peace Treaty itself.

This origin of this child of capitalism is very suspicious. Its name certainly has a rather proud ring about it, but even its name is false. Properly speaking it should really be called "A League for the Propagation of War."

Nobody possessed of common sense will believe that agreements between capitalist governments, peace treaties, "points," promises and so on, can reconcile the fundamental interests of capitalist society. Neither imperialism nor world revolution is able to renounce the application of force when force is dictated by circumstances.

It must be clear to every one that there will be no such thing as neutrality in future wars. This is what the contemporary international position results in practically. Inasmuch as all the nations are *embraced* by the League of Nations—and the danger of being included in the League apparently threatens not only all the small nations of Europe but also many of the small nations of Asia—neutrality becomes impossible in future. Every conflict of any importance will at once swell into a world war. Further, this applies not only to future imperialist wars, but also to wars of world revo-

lution. The neutral states always represent a danger for world capital during periods of imperialist war: they form the hiding place of revolutionary centres for their propaganda. It is they which make censorship to a certain extent impossible, spoil the campaigns of lies so carefully carried out by capital's hired hacks. Owing to the fact that, under present conditions the struggle of the working class must be conducted on an International arena, the removal of neutral countries and, as a consequence thereof, the impossibility of international agreement during a period of war, signifies an extraordinary complication of the revolutionary struggle. This is the reason why all the capitalist governments are interested in doing away with neutrality in future conflicts.

Besides this, for America the former neutral States have another special interest. Neutral States can be used as material to establish a new equilibrium, that is to say for the organisation of a general clearing out of European competitors.

Was it not Wilson who, when America entered the war, invited the neutral states to follow the example of America and to declare war on Germany? With the relation of forces that existed at that time there could be no doubt that such a step would have meant complete annihilation of countries like Holland, Denmark and Switzerland. But for America it would have been profitable, because the small nations would take upon themselves a part of the burden, and it was in the nature of things that small nations should be sacrificed "for the sake of great ideals."

England also receives large strategical advantages from the possibility of making use of the services of small nations, particularly of Belgium and Holland, in the name of the League of Nations.

The advantage received from the subjected position of small nations in the League during the revolutionary wars is most conspicuous. Even at present the great states make use of their perogatives to convert both old and new frontier states, such as Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Finland, into buffer states against revolution. This kind of action, however, in its present form, is too obvious, too vulgar, not sufficiently "democratic"—it is repulsive even to the most backward amongst west European workers. It would have been better and even wiser had the League of Nations in conformity with its democratic principle, reserved to the frontier nations the honour of allaying the menace of revolution or "anarchy" with the means provided by the League.

For an undertaking of this kind there would probably be no need to call a general meeting of the League of Nations—the executive committee would suffice, or might be done by the statesmen belonging to the controlling great Powers, in the same way as in any "democratic" state, parliament is never consulted upon the questions of war and peace, but where these things are decided in the cabinet of ministers.

Of course, there is no reason to be afraid that the small states will decline the honour of their own self-destruction—firstly, because the League of Nations possesses means of economic and military pressure; secondly, because the League has all the social traitors at its service—a very effective weapon.

These social-traitors, without hesitation, will betray the whole proletariat of their nation if only their employers, the team drivers of the League of Nations, ask them to do so in "the name of democracy." Was not the League of Nations established to defend the interests of small nations? Did not the great Mr. Wilson say that the "interests of the weak are as sacred as the interests of the powerful?"

After the small nations have been sacrificed to the gods of the counter revolution, the League of Nations—and this, of course, will result in still further desolation and cause the further shedding of blood and tears—all the capitalists of all the world have only to unite against the spread of world revolution.

The League of Nations, in this world struggle, is capable of affording inestimable services to capital. The League of Nations will find it easiest of all to secure the assistance of large groups of backward or mercenary elements amongst the working classes, and to decorate this betrayal with the aureole of the "Cause of Justice." In fact, one could invoke international law to compel the colonial peoples which enter the League, in the name of civilisation, to participate in the suppression of the working class.

The development of world revolution throws the counter revolutionary nature of the League of Nations into greater relief. When Wilson started his propaganda in favour of the League of Nations he was probably little concerned with fears of proletarian revolution. At that time strategical and material advantage were of primary importance. Still, it is remarkable that when the preliminary agreement between the United States and the South American republics was concluded, a clause was included in the first paragraph to the effect that should a revolution break out in any one of the countries not participating in the League of Nations, the parties of the treaty were obliged to afford assistance in the suppression of the national movement. To all intents and purposes this means that the United States is invested with powers of a counter revolutionar police force in South America.

At the same time the South American republics are allowed, under the observation and even the encouragement of Almighty Capital to weaken their revolutionary and therefore their vital forces by internecine quarrels.

In England and Germany the League of Nations was first regarded only from a strategical point of view.

Each of the antagonist groups was chiefly interested in the extent to which the League might be used as an instrument to guarantee their private interests.

The Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann Holweg, stated in the Reichstag that "Germany is always ready to enter into a League of Nations. Moreover it is ready to place itself *at the head* of a league which would undertake to subdue the disturbers of peace."

At the beginning of 1918, Lloyd George stated as follows: "At the present time there already exists two Leagues of Nations, namely the British Empire and the League of Nations at war against the Central European Powers. Whatever may be the result of the negotiations, before creating a new League of Nations we must take into consideration those that exist already, and of which we form a part."

The policy of excluding Germany from the League of Nations corresponds to this point of view.

In the meantime the new conflicts that continue to arise amongst members of the Entente, as well as the growth of the revolutionary movement and mass disturbances amongst the colonies, have already disposed the beautiful dreams of disarmament and general peace. The leading politicians appears to have accustomed themselves to the idea that there can be no complete

peace in this world, and that *their* task consists in as far as possible in retarding the development of the world revolution.

For this reason, the theoreticians of the League commence to talk less and less about disarmament and peace and bring to the foreground questions of social amelioration and measures of counter revolution.

This also explains the creation of an International Labour Bureau. An estimation of the staff of this bureau and its social programme has already been given in No. 3 of The Communist International, in an article by Comrade E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

This is simply the development of pseudo-democracy on an international scale. It is a mask by which the bourgeoisie propose to delude the workers with the assistance of the international social-patriots, in order to interest them in the counter revolutionary ambitions of the League of Nations.

A straightforward and class conscious Russian worker is at a complete loss to understand how, with the aid of such vulgar methods as these it is possible to lead such a vast number of west European workers.

The Russian worker does not know that the whole point of "democracy" is to convey to the worker just sufficient knowledge for the inception of the bourgeois lie, but insufficient knowledge for him to direct this lie. Further, it is always possible to bribe those workers who have stepped across this desirable border of development —it is possible to try and buy their services.

In this respect wide possibilities are opened up before the League of Nations, with its numerous bureaucracies, its great staff of confidential servants, whom it is possible to seduce with honours, power and riches.

But on the other hand, there are workers in west Europe who are well enough educated not to be deluded, and who are too numerous to be bribed. Their class consciousness will prompt them to the idea that the League of Nations is nothing else now than an instrument in the hands of their enemies.

For the present this instrument is only being forged; for the present it serves only as an intellectual connection between the world robbers.

But even an intellectual instrument may become a very dangerous and real power, and it would be a great mistake to consider the League of Nations as an innocent phantasy. A particularly stubborn struggle confronts the workers of the small countries, they will have to protest energetically against the affiliation of their exploiter-capitalists to the League of Nations. This affiliation will drag them into all the future imperialist and counter revolutionary wars and will force them to serve international capital.

Poland and the World Revolution

"The Polish Question" in the Bourgeois and Proletarian Revolution

THERE was a time when Poland's struggle to throw off the foreign yoke was regarded as a revolutionary factor in European wars for freedom. This was in fact the case. During the period of the French revolutionary struggle against the League of Kings the "Kostoushky Rebellon" (1792) for a time paralysed all the forces of Prussia, Austria and Poland. In 1830 the Polish rebellion saved Europe from the intervention of a Tzarist army. Both these movements, however, bore the character of a rebellion of nobles, and by no means as revolutionary uprisings of the Polish people. It is true, in 1847, Polish emigrants, composed chiefly of members of the nobility, took part in the struggle for liberation in France, Hungary, Italy and Germany; in Poland itself, however, the matter never came to more than *attempts* made to bring about a popular outburst.

The last nationalist rebellion in Poland broke out in 1863, as a result of the shameful subjection imposed by the satraps of the Tzar. It took place, however, at a moment of gloomy reaction in Europe, and the rebels shed their blood in an unequal struggle. There is something almost symbolical in the fact that this unsuccessful *nationalist rebellions* gave an impulse to the formation of the First International. It is well known that Marx and Engels made use of the conference convened in London by English and French workers and the revolutionary groups of other countries for the purpose of expressing its sympathy with the Polish rebellion in order to proclaim the idea of a militant international alliance of the workers as the only means of victory over their class oppressors.

As a matter of fact, the time had passed when nationalist movements served as a revolutionary factor. The strivings of the Germans towards national unity, which in 1848 had a revolutionary significance, was shaped in 1870 into a reactionary movement, as is shown by the war artfully provocated with France. In exactly the same manner, the national unity of Italy was the result of a protective policy. In both cases they were not brought to a conclusion, as the reactionary Hapsburg monarchy remained intact, after having secured for itself a section of both German and Italian peoples. The last quarter of the nineteenth century brought liberation to the Balkan states, but this liberation was the result of a struggle between the European states for the inheritance left by the "Sick Man of Europe" of states interested in having the national question of the Balkans left unsolved, in view of the fact that the Balkan Peninsula continued to be a witches' cauldron in which war and bloodshed was continually brewing.

Thus we see that the problem of a "national state," which in all essentials is a purely bourgeois ideal, was not solved during the period of the growth of bourgeois supremacy. A number of "questions," such as "the Irish question," "the Balkan question," and "Polish question" remained unsettled. All these questions continued to exist in a latent condition. But it was not these that give rise to the collision of the great Powers which in 1914 precipitated the capitalist world into war. But these unsolved problems, like evil phantoms, again made their appearance upon the liquidation of the imperialist war, and once again their reactionary character was observed. In England it is the "Irish question" that holds the revolutionary movement in check. Only national blindness converts the Roumanian peasants into the suffocators of the Hungarian revolution. In the meantime, Poland, whose struggles for liberation in former times roused the admiration of all the revolutionary minds of Europe, is at present found playing the part of "European policeman." The latter fact must be a grievous disappointment for all those who have not yet freed themselves from the remnants of "bourgeois idealism" (there are but few such persons now even amongst the self-styled Marxians). What is more this disappointment is the direct consequence of an insufficient knowledge of the true state of affairs in Poland. For thirty years already we Polish Marxians have never tired of trying to open the eyes of people who believed in the exclusive revolutionary character of Polish nationalism.

The truth is, that as long as bourgeois revolutions existed, Poland's struggle for freedom served as a revolutionary factor. But since social development has brought about a state of affairs in which only outbursts of class struggle between capital and labour are possible (Poland has not escaped these outbursts), the "Polish question" has assumed an entirely different character. The Polish bourgeoisie seeks its allies in the camp of reaction, and only the proletariat in Poland is on the side of revolution. But proletarian revolution strives towards the abolition of class state, and the Polish proletariat cannot dream of forming a Polish class state: its action must be directed towards the formation of a new society, the socialist federation of European proletariats.

The following contradiction is the result: the leaders of the Polish rebellion of 1830 were ultra-reactionary Polish landlords who had not the slightest intention of bestowing equal rights upon the Polish peasantry. Nevertheless this revolution was a revolutionary act which, as stated already, saved Europe from the intervention of Tzarist Russia. We see now how "honorable democrats struggling for an independent Polish state seek assistance from counter revolutionaries, and, in return, agree to undertake 'to protect Europe from Bolshevism.'"

Social Conditions in Poland before the World War.

A.—RUSSIAN POLAND.

In order that the reader who is unacquainted with Polish conditions may better understand the events which are now unfolding themselves in Poland, it is necessary to run over the development of the three parts of Poland during recent times.

We will commence with the part that was placed under Russian supremacy.

After the revolution of 1863 had been quelled, the Tzarist government introduced an agrarian reform which made the peasant *owner of the land cultivated by him*. This reform is often erroneously called the "liberation from feudal dependence." This is untrue, as officially feudal rights in this part of Poland were previously abolished by Napoleon (during the "Duchy of Warsaw"). This "liberation" finally terminated in the peasants losing all right to the land cultivated by them. In practise, agrarian conditons in this part of Poland, during 1808-1864, resulted in the peasants leasing land which belonged to the landowners, and by their paying for it, not in money but in work done on the land which the landowners reserved for themselves. Ostensibly they can be said to have been free, but the freedom gave a right to the landowners to drive away the peasants at whatever time he thought fit. This is what happened fairly frequently; if the Polish landowners did not then succeed in definitely proletarising the peasantry, the fact is due exclusively to their lack of money. The peasants continued to own the working cattle; in 1864 they became owners of land which up to that time they had merely leased. The landowners found themselves obliged to have recourse to hired labour for the cultivation of their estates.

The results of this was that agriculture became capitalised. At the same time the abolition of customs restrictions which up to 1849 separated Poland from Russia gave an enormous impulse to Polish industry. As railways began to extend over Poland, Russia was found to be a capacious market for the sale of Polish industrial products, particularly of woollen goods; besides which the Polish industry commanded cheap hand labour, and, what is more important, cheap credit and technical assistance from Germany. Every year trade relations between the two countries became more and more animated. Poland received from Russia an increasing proportion of raw materials: flax, hemp, wool, leather, furs, timber, cattle, salt, and in return gave, in addition to articles—iron goods, machines and agricultural implements. From the year 1880 Western Russia began to receive large quantities of coal from Poland; on the other hand, the young industry of the Don Basin began to furnish Polish factories with iron ore of a high quality. A new stage in the development of Russo-Polish relations was brought about by the invitation of the manufacturers of Lodz to the exploitation of the cotton plantations of Central Asia and by increased importation into Poland of Baku petroleum. This reciprocity of trading interests was favoured in particular by the fact that Poland began to dispatch engineers to Russia. The result of this process was that, at the beginning of the twentieth century Russian industry was united with the Polish industry by mutual trusts and syndicates. This was the phenomenon that Rosa Luxemburg had in view when she spoke of the "organic fusion" of Poland and Russia, notwithstanding the fact that the antagonists of Marxism endeavoured to misconstrue the real significance of this "fusion." What actually happened was whereas the supremacy of the Tzar over Poland up to the year 1863 had been blindly automatic, and based exclusively on brute force that excluded all possibility of intimate ties between the two countries, the reciprocal economic action which later on developed, itself led to an increasing "organic fusion." There can be no doubt of course that, as a result of this, certain social conse-

quences became manifest. As far as the Polish industrial bourgeoisie were concerned, this identification of their interests with the interests of the Russian bourgeoisie resulted in the former becoming contaminated with the ideas of Russian imperialism. As is only natural, disputes arose, as for instance, in regard to customs duties or railway tariffs: it was not rare for the Polish manufacturers to complain of restrictions being placed upon the sale of their goods in Russia, whilst on the other hand, Moscow manufacturers united in protest against the ruinous influence of Lodz prices on the Russian industry. . . . Practically it was nothing more than the family disputes so often to be observed between various groups of the bourgeoisie in any state. The Russian bourgeoisie, of course, were no less interested than the Russian bourgeoisie in the strength of the empire of the Tzar, for every addition to the power of the latter meant for them an extension of their field of action, and an increase of their profits. The action of Dmovsky, Grabsky & Co. in coming forward in the Duma and State Council as supporters of Russian imperialism was far from being as hypocritical as was affirmed by their opponents, Purishkevith & Co. To a large extent they were guided by the recognition of a reciprocality of bourgeoise interests between Russia and Poland. What, however, united the Polish and Russia capitalists more than anything else was class interest in the struggle against the proletariat. In proportion as the labour movement became stronger, the more sincere became the devotion of the Polish bourgeoisie to Tzarism, the more passionate became its infatuation with "order" as a salvation from "revolution."

The opposition of the nobility towards Tzarism lasted considerably longer. Besides political traditions, almost every family amongst the nobility suffered during the period of the rebellion: economic interests were also here at work. After 1863 the Tzarist government began deliberately to patronize the peasantry at the expense of the nobles. When the land was distributed to the peasants, numerous "services" began to crop up (the peasant-communes enjoyed the right to make use of the forest and pasture lands of the nobles) and this led to private quarrels between the retainers of the landowners and the peasant-communes. Further, the peasant-commissaries instituted by the government received direct instructions to provoke all kinds of disturbances, to incite the peasants against the landowner and to gain over the former to the side of the government. This Tzarist demagogy, however, enjoyed but a brief existence, in a short time, thanks to their superior economic position, the nobes rapidly won the good graces of the Russian officials and particularly of the commissars.

The descendants of the men who participated in the rebellions of 1792, 1830 and 1863 found themselves living under excellent conditions under the protection of the Tzar. The devotion of the Polish priests towards Russian Tzarism had become quite the opposite of "hypocritical" after Nicholas II. visited Poland for the first time after his coronation and solemnly enjoined the the peasantry to respect the inviolability of land belonging to the Church. The Tzar preserved the gentry from the peasants, and this was more than was required to cause the Polish landowners to renounce their long cherished dreams of liberty. Of course, one cannot deny the fact that there were thousands of people amongst the representatives of the dominating groups of Poland whose patriotic feelings had been grossly insulted by the persecutions of everything Polish by the Tzarist government. But this in no way lessens the importance of the fact that the Polish capitalists and landowners, *as a class*, not once truly interested themselves in the struggle for liberation from an alien yoke. For this reason there could be no question whatsoever as to serious opposition against an alien State, to say nothing at all of a national revolt against it. The dominating class of Poland adapted itself to Russian supremacy more easily than it is possible to describe.

All that it proved itself capable of was shy attempts to detract the Tzarist government from its policy of undisguised national persecution which took the form of certain political manoeuvres. Naturally these attempts were doomed to failure. The representatives of Polish "society" might distort themselves as much as they liked in order to prove "the loyalty of Poland"—they might contrive as many cunning intrigues as they wished to gain the St. Petersburg court on their side—but this in no way caused the Russian autocracy to relinquish the policy it had undertaken "of russification of foreigners." Recognition of the right of the Poles to national cultural development, for the bureaucracy and the Greek orthodox church, would have been tantamount to recognition of the right of existence for foreigners. In reality this policy of oppression continued to rage during ninety years of the last century, right up to the 1905 revolution.

This régime weighed exceedingly heavy upon the middle class, particularly upon the educated class in Poland. They suffered even from a purely material aspect; Poland offered no prospects either to the official, the teacher or the officer, whilst Polish scientists and writers dragged out an existence in an atmosphere of police officialdom. Besides this, national subjection was felt more keenly by this intellectually more highly developed class than by others. Something in the nature of political opposition was constantly in a state of ferment amongst these circles. But here as everywhere else, this petty bourgeois class merely reflected the attitude adopted by the more influential classes, and for this reason there could be no question as far as it was concerned of a real struggle against the prevailing "policy of loyalty." It continued to waver between chauvinist hate of the Moscovites and support of "compromise" with them. Nevertheless, the patriotism of these classes had a certain significance in the preservation of Polish culture, particularly since the beginning of a liberal movement in Poland. As the struggle between classes grew stronger this liberalism vanished, making way for undisguised reaction. In the twentieth century patriotism moulded itself into the most vulgar form of nationalism with all its corresponding attributes—a denial of democracy, anti-Semitism, and violent hatred of socialists.

The peasantry in Russian Poland remained politically indifferent. The demagogy of the Tzar did not enjoy any especial success. The peasant was not inclined to listen to fairy tales about his liberator, the Russian Tzar, as the touching unity between the landowner and the Russian official, whenever it was a question of despoiling the people, was much too apparent. National oppression caused the peasant to suffer, but in the long run there was no power on earth capable of depriving him of his native language and of the faith of his forefathers. When the Polish school became Russianised he taught his children in secret how to read and write Polish. It was only the meddling of officials with taxes and

military service that oppresses him. There could be no thought of the Polish peasant putting up a stubborn fight for the overthrow of the alien domination.

Let us now turn to the proletariat. The Polish worker had every reason to hate the oppression of the Tzar, whose iron, arbitrary hand held him firmly in its grip whenever he endeavoured to vindicate his class interests. It was precisely this that made him a socialist. But at the moment when the Polish proletariat matured for an independent policy, with its fundamental idea of international solidarity, socialism had already become an accomplished fact, and, under the conditions prevailing at the time it was palpably evident for the Warsaw, Lodz and Dombrovsk workers that they had no reason to think about the formation of a new class state, but rather of the destruction of the existing class state, namely, the Tzarist state. It was also equally apparent that the Polish capitalist in this struggle was his mortal enemy, and the Russian worker his desirable ally. The town worker experienced national oppression at every step, but the struggle that went on against the Russifying policy of the Tzar, as far as he was concerned, was a mere episode in the struggle against a whole system of political oppression in general. For this reason, the most active class of the Polish people was unable to attach to its banner the watchword of national struggle.

The hopelessness of all attempts at a national rebellion like the rebellions of 1830 and 1863 became particularly evident during the period of the Russian Revolution in 1905. Up to 1905 not a single serious attempt had been made to separate Poland from Russia, but when the Russian Revolution of 1905 began forces began to group themselves in the most natural manner: the influential class supported the Government all along the line in its endeavours to maintain the "existing order," whilst the Polish proletariat fought shoulder to shoulder with Russian workers against the Tzarist government and the capitalists for the conquest of power and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. One of the results of this struggle was that certain concessions were made as to the use of the Polish language both in the schools and in the official administrations. Owing to the mere fact that the Polish worker is unable to repudiate his nationality, every conquest that he makes serves the interests of Polish culture in general.

B.—GALICIA.

Galicia was destined to take part in the process of disintegration of the Hapsburg monarchy. Rich by virtue of its own natural deposits (it possessed coal in the Crakau Basin; the Velitchkinsky salt mines, which are the richest in Europe; it has many petroleum wells, potash fields; the soil here is excellent in places, whilst the Carpathians abound in easily accessible sources of electrical energy), this country is at present situated in a state of extreme economic helplessness. There is scarcely any industry worth speaking of, and the reason for this is that the German bourgeoisie which dominated Austria, for a long time used Galicia as a "hinterland" for the sale of the products of the Austrian and Bohemian industries. To a certain extent development is restricted by the geographical position of the country. Galicia represents an oblong patch of land divided from Hungary and Austria on the south by the inaccessible Carpathian Mountains, and is obstructed on the north by the Russian customs' barrier. A third cause which is responsible for the industrial backwardness of Galicia was the protective policy imposed by the Hapsburgs, which was conducted for the benefit of both the Austrian and Galician landowners, who introduced their own policy of plunder all over the country, and made all economic development impossible. After the war defeat of Prussia in 1867, constitutional institutions were introduced, "the land of monarchy" was granted self-government, and the policy of national persecution which had prevailed hitherto was at last set aside. The administration of the country was placed in the hands of the Poles.

Polish was made the language in common use in the schools, law courts and in public life. Cracau, with all its former grandeur, became the Mecca of Polish patriots. A Polish university was instituted here and patriotic Polish plays were exhibited at the theatres. The Poles gave themselves up to a very bacchanalia of patriotism. The Warsaw patriots who took refuge here from national outrages, rapidly became convinced that their Galician brothers had been falsely worshipping the black and yellow flag of the Hapsburgs and that their own patriotic flag was but of second rate importance. This was very easily to be understood: the lords of the Land were the Polish aristocrats who had joined their destiny to that of the monarchy; i. e., of the Hapsburg dynasty. The middle class of society consisted chiefly of officials, whilst all the remaining classes, owing to a low development of trade and industry, were entirely dependent upon the aristocracy and landowners. This explains the domination which lasted ten whole years of what is known as the "governmental class," i. e., of the ultra-revolutionary party which sought salvation for itself in devotion to the Hapsburg and infused corruption in all spheres of social life.

It was only quite recently, after indications of cultural and political life had begun to appear amongst the peasantry, and after some sort of industrial development had begun to manifest itself, that tendencies of a bourgeoisie opposition nature directed against the clerical aristocratic régime began to appear. The representatives of these tendencies, owing to the political conceptions which they held, carried on a propaganda of national-patriotic ideas, although of course they were far from inscribing the watchword of independence on their banner.

The national dispute that took place between the Poles and the Galicians occupied a prominent place in Galician politics: the trouble was that the eastern part of the country was populated almost exclusively by peasants, who are akin to the Russian Ukrainians (the "Galicians"), whilst all the large landowners and the major portion of the town population was Poles.

In this crucian pond the Polish Social Democratic Party of Galicia was destined to play the part of the carp.

Owing to the very small number of factory workers this party was compelled to seek its supporters principally from amongst the artisans, railway workers, commercial clerks, and similar elements, which still retained their petty bourgeois psychology.

Thanks to the political ability of the leader of this party, Dashinsky, who understood how to make good use of the conditions peculiar to Austro-Galicia at that time, it secured a large number of supporters during the nineties. This change, of course, was not effected without loss of its class purity; the Galician Social

Democratic Party was nothing more than an extreme opposition party, which was supported by all elements dissatisfied with their present position.

The success of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) is due to the small percentage of proletarians. Its programme was elaborated by Polish emigrants, chiefly by members of the Proletariat Party, and represented a miscellany of nationalist and socialist ideas. The principal idea of the party was that the Polish people should first of all throw off the alien yoke in order to have the possibility of paving the way for itself towards socialism. Not a single word was stated in the programme as to what extent the armed rebellion of the Polish proletariat against three of the greatest military powers was realisable, particularly without any support from its own bourgeoisie. All hopes were based upon a conflict arising between these powers. After adopting this policy, the Galician party found itself in an equivocal position; before the "public" it attacked Austrian militarism both in the press and in Parliament, but it secretly longed for a war between Austria and Russia. It can be definitely asserted that the members of this party, with Pilsudky at its head, for a long time past had been in close touch with the Austrian general staff, and had closely collaborated in all the war preparations that were being made, particularly in regard to espionage.

C.- PRUSSIAN POLAND.

The Polish provinces subjected to Prussia can be divided into two quite distinct parts, namely Upper Silesia on the one hand and the provinces of Posen and West Prussia on the other. The first province has not formed part of the Polish state since the fourteenth century, having been put under Prussian supremacy during the period of the Seven Years' War. Posen and East Prussia on the other hand were finally made over to Prussia after the Vienna Congress. Both the latter provinces are agricultural, deprived of almost any industry, whereas Upper Silesia is a well developed industrial centre with an enormous production of coal and iron.

In order to properly understand the social and political life of Posen and West Prussia, it is necessary to recollect that these western borderlands of Poland was subjected to large colonisation by the Germans even during the period of Poland's independence. The constitution of the Polish Republic gave wide privileges of self-government to the town, and this acted to the advantage of the German immigrants, who brought with them their "Drang nach Osten." Here, for instance, the so-called Madgeburg laws were in operation, which made Polish towns independent of the Supreme Authorities, and which possessed their own law courts, and German laws, organised their guilds upon the German model, and whilst making German the language of their every day use, made use of Latin in their relations with the Polish authorities. In this manner, many towns, such as Dantzig, Thorne and Bromberg were practically German colonies. In other towns the German colonists formed only a part of the population, but in these, too, the German element was very powerful.

These provinces having been placed within reach the German government with the aid of the German population definitely set about the task of Germanising them once for all. The Polish language was excluded from the schools and administration, and finally it was forbidden even to make use of the Polish language in public assemblies. The attitude towards the Polish population often assumed very remarkable and absurd forms. In the constitutional kingdom of Prussia it was forbidden to sing national Polish songs and persons wearing national emblems were prosecuted; Polish towns were renamed with German names (as, for instance, the ancient Inovratzlaff was renamed Hohensalza, Zabrizeln, during the war was renamed Hindenburg). These were only pin pricks which constantly irritated the national pride of the Poles. Far from being so harmless were the arbitrary violences against the Polish people, which were much more serious. In 1886, for instance, tens of thousands of Polish inhabitants were banished from these provinces on the pretext that they were emigrants from Russian and Galician Poland, and therefore were not Prussian subjects. At the same time a forcible colonisation of these two provinces began. The government bought up the land of the Polish landowners and divided it amongst the German peasants. When it was discovered that the purchase of this land by mutual arrangement did not succeed very well expropriation was resorted to. The Polish owners were obliged to cede their lands to the Germans on the demand of the German authorities. Attempts to justify this conduct by stating that this expropriation was directed exclusively against the large Polish landowners is nothing less than hypocrisy (a vice by no means uncommon among so-called social democrats). In the first place, upon the parcelling out of these estates the Polish workers were systematically ejected and deprived of their means of existence; secondly, this policy took away from the Polish peasant the right to acquire the land; thirdly, because the government often resorted to compulsory alienation of the land from the Polish peasants as well as from the landowners. A still more deliberate act of violence was the so-called "settlers's law." In order to prevent the Polish landowner from transferring available parts of his land to the Polish peasant, a law was promulgated, according to which permission of the authorities was required to build houses even upon one's own property, whilst the authorities themselves systematically declined such permission to the Polish peasants. It is not difficult to imagine the extent to which the Poles were enraged by this policy. The Prussian government, however, did not gain anything by this policy. We assert that at the present day these provinces are more Polish than they were half a century ago. The Polish village has remained as it was formerly -- Polish -- and the few thousand German colonists who settled there have not essentially altered it. In the course of time the German colonist who spread over the provinces of Poland began to disappear, and this process increased in proportion as the unsociableness of the colonists disappeared. The overcrowding of the towns has been particularly marked during the last ten years, despite all the efforts of the government to prevent it. Here, as elsewhere in Europe, the town population has rapidly augmented as a result of the "attractive influences of the towns." But this current of new town population came chiefly from the villages, and for this reason was largely composed of Poles. In this manner, the immigrant German town population has been gradually supplanted by the Polish newcomers and a Polish petty bourgeoisie has arisen in the towns.

Competition between the Polish and German town inhabitants was inevitable, which still further accentuated national differences.

The economic development of both provinces depended upon the economic development of the whole of Germany: The rapid industrial development of Germany brought about an ever-increasing demand for agricultural products for the towns and industrial centres, and both provinces became purveyors of corn, potatoes and cattle. It is for this reason that we find that agriculture is intensively developed, both by the landowners and the peasants. The development of branches of industry for the manufacture of the products of agriculture—sugar factories, distilleries, starch factories, also helped to intensify the development of agriculture. Most of the profits of this development fell, of course, to the large landowners, but the peasants also benefitted by the new state of affairs, and there can be no doubt that the peasants of these provinces enjoy greater prosperity than their fellow-countrymen living in other Polish provinces. At the same time there has arisen here, in the same manner as in the towns, a peculiar form of national struggle on an economic basis. The Polish townsman fought with the German. The Polish peasant, who had always suffered from an acute lack of land, endeavoured to take advantage of the colonisation policy of the government to obtain possession of it. "Increase Polish national wealth!" became the watchword of the hour. Every large or small speculator was as proud of his "profits" as he would have been of the greatest patriotic exploit. "The national energy found expression in the foundation of Polish banks, Polish credit institutions, industrial corporations, companies for cattle raising, and so on. It is hardly necessary to add that this in no way prevented either the Polish exploiter from oppressing his worker or the Polish speculator from fleecing his dear fellow-countryman to the bone.

In such an atmosphere as this there was, of course, no place for an adventurist national policy or thoughts of fighting for national liberty. Polish deputies, both in the German Reichstag and in the Polish Landtag gave undivided support to the reactionary Junkers on all questions of an economic nature. They invariably voted in favour of naval and military credits, and only from time to time allowed themselves the luxury of making solemn protests against the ignominious Germanising policy. The labour movement was very poorly developed, owing to the almost complete absence of large industry. All the social democratic and trade unions that were formed affiliated to corresponding German organisations. At the same time the national differences served as a serious obstacle to socialist propaganda, and in the years that preceded the war the nationalist, and in all essentials, the counter revolutionary Polish Artisans' Union, with which the German "free," alleged social democratic trade unions, concluded an agreement which had considerable influence.

In Upper Silesia the matter was quite different. Here the peasantry consists entirely of Poles, whereas the landowners are almost all Germans. It can be said that Upper Silesia is the province par excellence of the domination of large German territories. In the course of time the petty bourgeoisie of the towns became completely Germanised. Since the middle of the nineteenth century a powerful large industry has developed in Upper Silesia, an industry founded on the rich deposits of coal, iron and zinc. Gigantic industrial undertakings have been concentrated in the hands of German capitalists (in the great majority of cases the same owners of land). Almost all the workers engaged in this industry are Poles, if one does not consider the small number of highly skilled workers who have been drawn here from other great industrial centres of the German Empire. Thanks to this, the national question assumes here an entirely different aspect; the impoverished Polish peasantry, the numerous Polish rural proletariat and the developed Polish industrial proletariat are here up against the German junker and the German capitalist. Here national contradictions distort the class struggle in such a way that the uneducated Polish worker is liable to confound the exploiter with the German as a German.

It is curious that in Upper Silesia as well, during the course of the last twenty or thirty years, a certain increase of the petty bourgeoisie has taken place. A great flow of new Polish workers into the industrial centres has created for the trades and artisans a permanent supply of Polish buyers. The Polish worker, who understands not more than half a dozen words in German, is more inclined to buy his wares from the salesman who is able to converse with him in his own tongue. This, in turn, causes the petty bourgeois to affect the rôle of Polish patriot.

The labour movement in this province, contrary to expectations, has not developed very rapidly. It is well known how difficult it is to organise the miners and metal workers—the experience of England, France, Western Germany and America speak eloquently of it. In Upper Silesia the number of unskilled miners is very important (this is explained by the fact that here the coal is conveniently situated in thick layers, and for this reason every skilled miner in need of a larger number of assistant labourers than is the case in other districts) which form a very unstable element, constantly arriving from the villages and readily forsaking the mines for other work. Here as well the social democratic and trade union propaganda has taken root. An undesirable influence has been offered only by the competition between the social patriotic P. P. S. and the Polish Union of Artisans, but in spite of this, as a result of the highly developed industrial proletariat of Upper Silesia, it was possible just before the war to observe a growth of revolutionary opinion.

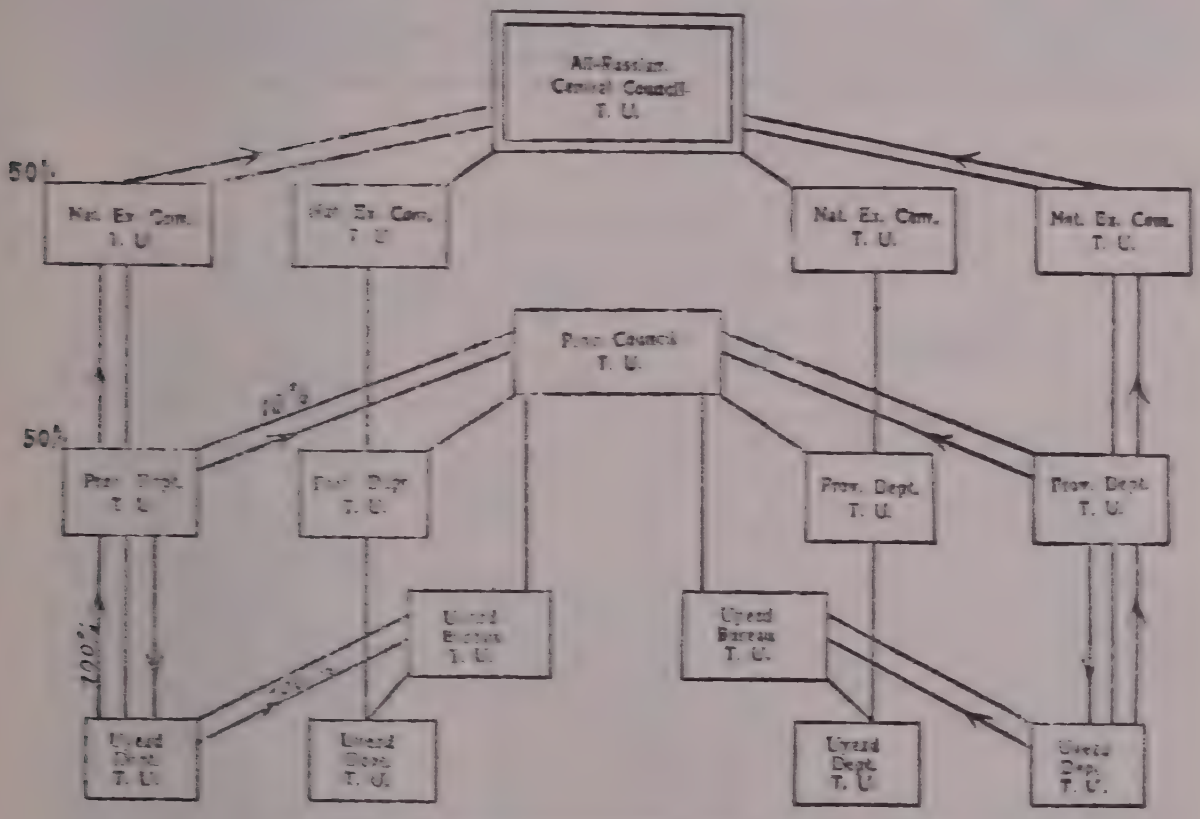
In a following article we shall examine how this has reflected itself in each of these provinces.

The Trade Union Movement in Russia

(Continued.)

By M. Tomsky

President of the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions



PRESENT PLAN OF RUSSIAN TRADE UNION ORGANISATION.

THUS the Russian trade union movement has attained the chief conditions necessary for the unity of action and the economy of forces: *Uniformity of construction in all the trade union organisations* and the *identity of tasks and functions of the similar trade union organs.*

In spite of the heavy burden borne by the Russian proletarians, who are waging a heroic war not only with their own deposed robbers but with the whole world alliance of imperialists, supported by the compromising elements of Western European socialism as represented by Jouhaux, Henderson, Gompers, Legaine & Co., in spite of the great difficulties of the economic position caused by ceaseless military raids, engineered by the Entente, and the blockade organised by it—the number of workers organised in trade unions continued to grow without intermission.

When we compare the figures of the Third Conference (July, 1917), the First All Russian Congress, we see that the number of trade union members was as follows:

	Members.
*Third Conference	1,475,429
First Congress	2,638,912
**Second Congress	3,422,000

Thus in spite of the shrinkage and a considerable diminution of output caused by the want of raw materials and fuel, the figures show a constant increase of membership.

If these figures, as is possible, are not absolutely correct,*** they at any rate reflect quite accurately the growth of the movement, and they are relatively speak-

*Omitting the Ukraine, Siberia, Caucasus and the Urals.

**Omitting the Ukraine, Caucasus and the Urals.

***The figures are borrowed from the data of the mandatory commissions appointed at the Third Conference, First Congress and Second Congress. See „Minutes of the Third Conference", „Stenographic report of the Second Congress" the edition of the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. The minutes of the Second Congress are now in print.

ing quite correct. When we verify them by the somewhat incomplete data which refer to twenty-seven governments, we get the same proportion. But at this moment, when the timeservers of the Entente from the camp of the Western European trade union movement declare that the trade union movement under the Soviet government has become weak and powerless, it is of especial importance to show even in a general outline the conditions of our trade union movement for the last six months, compared with the previous years. We quote below the figures of the trade unions and their members, workers and employees in twenty-seven governments (according to the data of the organising statistical department of the All Russian Central Council of trade unions, and are not part of the All Russian unions.

Moreover, that table does not include two very large transport workers unions—the river transport and railwaymen, for these unions, owing to their extension along railway lines and rivers were not investigated by the local trade union councils.

Adding to this general figure 1,934,604, 450,000 members of the All Russian Union of Railwaymen of Great Russia and 180,000 members of the All Russian Union of River Transport of Great Russia, not counting the Ural and part of the Ukraine, we get 2,384,784, and even this number does not by any means include all the workers and employees of the *whole* of Soviet Russia who are organised in trade unions.

Table No. 4.

Table of Trade Unions from 1917 to 1919.

GOVERNMENTS.	1st half of 1917		2nd half of 1917		1st half of 1918		2nd half of 1918		1st half of 1919	
	No. of unions	No. of members	No. of unions	No. of members	No. of unions	No. of members	No. of unions	No. of members	No. of unions	No. of members
1. Petrograd	not known.		47	500.000	49	447.772	25	403.347	33	340.118
2. Moscow	38	177.585	56	410.823	55	375.430	54	449.895	29	607.083[1]
3. Ivanovo Voznesensk	1	207	10	37.110	23	88.113	43	155.445	51	157.882
4. Tula	3	650	5	2.875	9	4.816	24	26.428	41	39.061
5. Yaroslavl	3	3.151	9	8.674	19	15.318	35	27.196	67	35.907
6. Kostroma			—	—	11	7.870	14	13.932	33	23.693
7. Kharkov	3	5.150	6	27.148	14	52.713	15	49.350	28	54.593
8. Kursk	1	323	7	2.416	29	11.890	35	18.073	45	21.097
9. Vladimir	4	5.096	14	22.610	42	121.914	53	136.819	59	143.299
10. Tambov	26	18.525	28	21.488	52	31.796	74	36.450	105	81.301
11. Saratov	24	52.749	36	62.856	50	69.704	67	80.878	138	26.069
12. Nizhni	18	18.514	23	29.033	32	21.315	48	31.684	78	157.594
13. Simbirsk	15	7.180	21	7.873	39	19.759	56	19.089	67	24.627
14. Penza	20	5.844	28	10.227	41	16.108	63	16.815	66	19.862
15. Perm	11	21.092	20	36.148	43	39.337	71	60.563	81	75.982
16. Kazan	8	1.930	15	18.264	25	20.643	27	21.207	50	32.293
17. Yaroslav	31	37.222	38	42.312	50	60.525	65	79.360	68	78.210
18. Kiev	27	61.748	28	63.012	30	85.277	30	64.229	41	81.816
19. Ekaterinoslav	16	16.458	18	20.202	29	27.012	29	28.645	32	26.319
20. Nizhni Novgorod	25	51.900	30	65.108	31	74.555	38	82.791	40	99.204
21. Samara	7	31.147	8	31.173	9	29.810	10	31.012	39	43.519
22. Novgorod	7	1.940	9	5.330	9	5.429	11	5.850	15	7.118
23. Vyatka	11	13.305	15	13.635	21	18.393	23	19.316	35	28.775
24. Vologda	3	527	4	697	6	787	8	1.186	17	2.859
25. Minsk	2	1.944	2	1.944	2	1.941	4	3.138	8	5.866
26. Kazan	9	25.903	10	27.702	11	30.642	12	43.308	13	41.742
27. Perm	8	52.258	8	52.022	9	56.038	10	57.014	14	61.89.
	310	580.188	498	1.329.046	721	1.416.856	817	1.614.012	1.346	1.934.604

[1] This includes railwaymen and river transport workers for the whole government, but many returns are not available for a number of months and many unions, and this figure is only a general one arrived at by adding the data of the government departments of the unions.

Trade Unions), as the best proofs of the absurdity of the above assertions, which only serve one definite purpose: To discredit the Soviet government in the eyes of the Western European workers, and thereby to facilitate the task of Clemenceau, Lloyd George & Co., in crushing the labour republic. Our table (No. 4) does not include a considerable number of the smaller unions, which are not affiliated with the local councils of the

The present figures are very incomplete for the following reasons:

1. The above table includes the statistical material *only from twenty-seven* governments.

2. There is no information available from considerable parts of the Uyezds.

3. There is also no information of a considerable number of small local unions.

It is obvious that under the existing conditions of civil war, when a series of localities and whole provinces constantly change hands, it is absolutely impossible to give a complete and absolutely true illustration of the movement. It is very probable that along with the incompleteness of the general illustration and enormous blank spaces, there are also exaggerations, which can be explained by careless registration; but this applies equally to the figures of the three years, 1917, 1918 and 1919. Thus, if we take these figures in their mutual relations, they will give us a true conception not only of the growth of the movement but also of its tendencies.

As regards the number of workers organised in All Russian Unions, we get more complete data quoted in the next table:

Table No. 5.

Trade Unions.	No. of members	Area.
1. Apothecary employees. .	18.000	Great Russia, Tcherni gov and Kiev. gts
2. River transport	180.000	Great Russia, Ukraine.
3. Railwaymen	450.000	Great Russia.
4. Tanners	125.000	"
5. Banking, etc	70.000	Great Russia.
6. Metal workers	380.000	" "
7. Printers	60.000	Gt. Russia and Ukraine.
8. Stationers	18.000	Great Russia.
9. Food supply	60.000	" "
10. Medical and sanitary workers	130.000	Gt. Russia and Ukraine.
11. Tailors	63.948	Great Russia.
12. Post and telegraph . . .	140.000	Gt. Russia and Ukraine
13. Sugar workers	15.000	Great Russia.
	45.000	Ukraine.
14. Glass and china workers.	24.000	
15. Builders	74.988	Gt. Russia and Ukraine.
16. Textile workers.	400.000	Gt. Russia and Klintzy.
17. Soviet civil servants . .	277.937	Gt. Russia and Ukraine
18. Chemists	100.000	Gt. Russia and Kiev.
19. Cement workers	18.000	Great Russia.
20. Miners	13.000	"
21. Wood workers	50.000	Gt. Russia and Ukraine.
22. Public feeding	39.422	" "
24. Finance	25.672	" "
24. Firemen	18.000	" "
25. Tobacconists	24.000	" "
26. Art workers	50.000	Great Russia.
27. Agricultural labourers .	100.000	" "
28. Hairdressers	6.011	Gr. Russia, Ekaterinoslav and Kiev.
29. Domestic servants and attendants.	82.297	Gt. Russia and Ukraine.
30. Educational workers . .	60.000	

This table is compiled from data given by the executive committee of the All Russian Union of Trade Unions and from different information supplied by the mandatory commissions of the All Russian Congresses of separate unions.

When we compare tables 4 and 5 we see that the total figures of the latter exceeds the former, which comprises twenty-seven governments, by 763,491. This can partly be explained by the fact that the informaton contained in the fifth table is subsequent in data and comprises a wider territory, partly also because it comprises new unions which were founded in the second half of 1919. In any case these figures have a relative, not an absolute, value for us in so far as they indicate the general direction of the movement, the course of its organising development.

The table shows us that the growth of members manifests itself mainly in the provinces. On the other hand the movement in the capitals is retarded in its growth, and shows even in some instances a decrease in membership (Petrograd). The increase in Moscow is explained by the development of the organising activity in the Moscow government and the drawing in of new elements into the trade union movement.

But what is true with regard to Moscow is absolutely true with regard to the republic as a whole. The increase of membership and the number of unions, in spite of the general economic crisis (the result of war and the blockade), which had a disastrious effect on the main branches of industry (the textile, the metal, the chemical, etc.), and which destroyed such an important industrial centre as Petrograd—proves the extraordinary vitality of our movement, of its solidity and of the energetic activity of the unions.

The general economic displacement of industry, its migration to districts nearer to governments producing bread and raw material and the attending migration of the proletariat from the hungry industrial centres to fertile districts—all this had its reflection in our movement, therefore the relative and sometimes absolute number of membership in big industrial centres has fallen and the movement has grown in the provinces. The loss of a large number of workers by the branches of industry, which suffered most, caused by the growth of the army, the villages and the civil service. This loss is compensated by the drawing of new proletarian elements, who, hitherto, were unorganised into organisations. The trade union movement, which was formerly red in the most important cities, in the course of its development is gradually spreading to the more remote corners, thus passing through provincial towns to the most distant uyezds.

The industrial proletariat has well learned the historic lessons given by our revolution, which are full of suffering and heroism. The proletariat has learned to understand and to value the importance of its organisations, and when it finds itself in distant provinces, either as a worker of food supply detachments or as a Red Army man, or in search of the better life, and at the very first opportunity begins the work of organising the unions. In spite of the process of fusion of kindred unions based on trades in to more powerful organisations based on the principle of uniting whole *branches of industry*, and although such process is seemingly bound to lead to the fewer unions—we observe especially in the provinces exactly the opposite, a constant growth not only in membership but also in the number of unions.

This is explained by the growing development of the organisations of the All Russian combinations: Groups of members, scattered up to now, are being joined into units; units are joined into divisions. Thus new departments of the All Russian Union are being formed. Therefore the number of unions shown in the table represents at the present time—almost entirely with insignificant exceptions—the total number of the branches of the All Russian Trade Unions. Thus we are living through a new period of the spread of the departments or branches of the central organisations.

After passing the state of elemental local construction, the process of organising local and then afterwards central bodies, we have come to the turning point and witness the opposite tendency—namely, the centre is now building up its branches.

However, if in spite of the economic crisis and the general shrinking of industry, we witness both the geographical spread of the movement and the drawing of

new hitherto unorganised elements into it; if along with the centralisation of the movement we witness a constant growth of the number of branches of central organisations, which proves a constant growth in membership—we can state with certainty that this proves not only the stability and vitality of the movement itself but also that the development takes place in an atmosphere favourable to it. If we consider that we live in a period of constant civil war and are incessantly exposed to raids and territorial conquests on the part of our own and foreign robbers—as represented by the notorious Entente—that the unions continue to send out of their midst thousands and tens of thousands of new workers for the military food supply and other branches of the state work, then every one must realise that the Soviet government is a genuine labour government, that this régime of the Soviet republic gives an unlimited scope to the self-government of the proletarian economic organisations, that under that régime the workers in the trade unions take a greater part in the government of the country and have more influence over the governing bodies than the organisation of the bourgeoisie and the nobility in bourgeois monarchies and republics.

We cannot give an adequate idea of the development of our trade union movement in its organising part without describing in brief outline the history of the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

The first All Russian Council of Trade Unions was elected at the Third All Russian Conference at the end of May, 1917, and lasted six months. It was unable to develop any organising activity and thus did not justify the hopes it raised. This was due to the uncertainty of its functions and the indefiniteness of its powers, as were conferred on it by the conference; it was also due to the almost equal division between its right and its left wings, which paralysed the executive body of the council (the Executive Committee comprised, right 5, left 4; the presidium, right 3, left 2); moreover its difficulties were caused by the very structure of the council, which followed the local representation principle, which led to the scattering of members of the council all over Russia and to the impossibility of regularly calling its members together. The members of the council itself residing and working hundreds of thousands of versts away from the centre, were buried in local work and were quite isolated from its central organs. They were not only unable to control these organs, but in many cases even to keep in touch with them.

The task of the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, as defined by the Third Conference, was reduced to the "keeping in touch" with the trade union organisations to "establishing relations" with the unions of other countries, to "help the unification of trade unions by instructing them or by editing the standard statutes," etc., also to represent trade unions at the various state and public bodies.

The conference gave the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions the right to represent the interests of the trade union movement, but did not give it the right to actively guide the movement. The representation lost all its meaning by being shorn of that right to guide, and became a mere shadow.

The First All Russian Congress passed very few amendments in the statute of the All Russian Council of Trade Unions. It did not touch the part it should play and its tasks, but it radically changed its structure, introducing a constant representation from the All Russian Council of Trade Unions on the base of equal proportion and thus made it a proletarian parliament, which had a weight with all the trade union organisations.

This change in the structure in the process of the intensive organising work at a period of stormy revolutionary life has strengthened the authority of the All Russian Central Council gradually transferring it from the "auxiliary" and the "instructing" organ into that of *actual* control over the Russian trade union movement.

The authority of the All Russian Council of Trade Unions was especially enhanced by the state regulation of wages and conditions of labour, which gave the All Russian Council of Trade Unions the part of the supreme arbiter. The strengthening of the ties between the A. R. C. C. of T. U. and the People's Commissariat of Labour, which was headed by comrades elected by the A. R. C. C. of T. U., who have built up their whole system on the joint activity of trade unions, has also considerably increased the authority and influence of the unions in general and of the A. R. C. C. of T. U. in particular. Of course, this similarity of tasks of the Commissariat of Labour and the A. R. C. C. of T. U. and the identity of their methods—by means of the trade union apparatus—at first caused some overlapping and confusion of the spheres of competence; there were even certain frictions, but by March, 1918, i. e., three months after the congress, the Fourth Trade Union Conference convened at Moscow to discuss the Brest Treaty and the evacuation of Petrograd once for all settled the question of the mutual relations between the Commissariat of Labour and the trade unions. Further on, when I shall deal in my next article with the mutual relations between the unions and the organs of the Soviet government, I shall dwell more circumstantially on that question, but here I shall only point out that the conference by recognising the Commissariat of Labour as a state organ, "carrying out the will of the economically organised proletariat" and by laying down the obligation for the Commissariat of Labour to follow all the decisions of the leading combines of trade unions (congresses, conference of A. R. C. C. of T. U.) has not only thereby recognised the A. R. C. C. of T. U. as a leading authoritative institution, expressing the interests and wishes of the whole economically organised proletariat, but has also created conditions which enable it to fulfill such functions.

By the time of the opening of the Second Congress of Trade Unions this transformation of the A. R. C. C. of T. U. into a guiding organ became an accomplished fact, so that the congress had only to formulate and sanction the already de facto existing relations. The following are the second and third clauses of the statute passed by the Second All Russian Congress:

Clause 2. The supreme guiding organ of the United All Russian Trade Unions is the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, which is acting under the direction of congresses and conferences and is responsible for its actions before the All Russian Congress of Trade Unions.

Clause 3. All the decisions of the All Russian Congresses, conferences and A. R. C. C. of T. U. are binding on all the unions, which are part of the All Russian Trade Union Amalgamation and also on each individual member of the union. The non observance of the decisions is punished by expulsion from the family of proletarian unions.

These clauses have finally put the last touch to the centralisation of the Russian trade union movement

They bound it into one whole, guided in the most important questions by one centre and united by a single will

To sum up, we can definitely assert that the organised activity of the trade unions attains its highest forms only after the First Congress of Trade Unions in 1918-1919; i. e., in the period of the Soviet rule. The October revolution radically changed the character of our trade union movement by giving it new aims, by opening up before it new possibilities. The methods of work and its scope are being altered. The unions are invited to take part in the economic-political dictatorship of the workers. In alliance with the Soviet government they are bravely waging a battle with hunger, disorganisation and at the same time with all the foreign and Russian robbers on all fronts. Difficult historic tasks in a condition of stormy revolutionary activity interrupt at times the immediate duties of the trade unions as such. These tasks divert their attention to the solving of some public question or other, which for the time being is essential and paramount for the proletarian, as a dictator, in saving his republic. However, the work of building up economic organisations and their concentration and solidification *has never for a moment been interrupted*, for the rule of the workers, as represented by the soviets, bases itself on self-help of the organised masses and is realised by the friendly cooperation of the soviets and the unions.

The next article will be devoted to the spirit of the new trade union movement.

(To be Continued.)

Public Education in Soviet Russia

By A. Lunatcharsky

IN my last article in No. 4 of The Communist International, I promised to devote my next article to questions of school extension; as it happens, however, on the occasion of the forthcoming October festival the School Extension Department will make known the various aspects of its work, and for this reason I propose to postpone my report till the No. 6 issue of The Communist International, in order that I may have completely reliable facts at my disposal.

At present I propose to make our comrades of the Third International acquainted with another exceedingly serious phenomenon in the work of Soviet public education.

* * *

In one of my articles I have already pointed out that, notwithstanding the exceedingly friendly attitude shown towards the teachers right from the beginning by the People's Commissariat for Education, there was to be observed on the part of the teachers a determined hostility. It is true that from the very first it was clear that the centre of this hostility was the All Russian Teachers' Union, at the head of which stood teachers belonging to the intermediate schools, for the most part of Social-Revolutionary and left Cadet tendencies.

The mass of the elementary school teachers included in the union, which number about 50,000 persons, as well as those outside the union, numbering altogether about 300,000, were inclined to hesitate and to disagree, but the higher these teachers stood in the school hierarchy, the more definite became both their malice and their resistance.

The All Russian Teachers' Union was quietly tolerated for a considerable period, mainly in order to avoid the employment of violence in so important a matter as public education.

Subsequent development in the sentiments of the teachers, however, led us towards another conclusion. The All Russian Teachers' Union, which had only adopted the character of a political centre—of a cork, so to speak, that bottled up all the good feelings that were beginning to manifest themselves on the part of many teachers towards the revolutionary school—began, simultaneously, rapidly to lose favour in the eyes of the lower grade teachers. Ever more numerous and heartier were the signs of sympathy that were directed towards us in the form of different kinds of conferences and resolutions.

For this reason, therefore, at the end of 1918, we finally decided to disperse the All Russian Teachers' Union and to substitute for it a trade union of another type.

Dissent arose as to the type of this union. The teachers, particularly the higher grade teachers, were desirous of forming a wide trade union that would more or less be a second edition of the former All Russian Union, whilst, on the other hand, the desire was expressed by certain Communists, representing the People's Commissariat for Education, that the union should be organised on a narrow, limited basis, and would be of an emphatic Communist tendency.

Looking at the matter from this point of view, even the political Union of International Teachers, already in existence at that time, was judged to be organised on too wide a basis.

Finally, after a number of discussions at meetings of representatives of the government sections and also in the Communist fraction of the Conference of Internationalist Teachers, it was decided that a middle course should be adopted. The original intention was to create a very wide teachers' union, with the condition, however, that the local organising groups of this union should always be composed of Communists or people who had given proof of sincere sympathy with the party. In addition to all, a certain election should be made necessary, in other words, only teachers provided with a recommendation were admissible into the union. It was proposed, however, that the threshold to the union should not be raised too high, but that an organisation should be formed which would count many thousand persons

amongst its members. It was clear that the Teachers Trade Union should also belong to the general family of Workers' Trade Unions. Our original plan, however, after we had come into contact with the All Russian Council of Trade Unions underwent some changes. The All Russian Council maintained the view that the teachers should be organised on the basis of the same statute (excluding some details and formal changes) upon which the trade unions of all the rest of the workers had been founded.

As we are aware, trade unions in Soviet Russia stand as non-party organisations. Notwithstanding this, however, it will be found that in the corresponding statute a clause will be found which emphasises the condition that only workers such as recognise proletarian dictatorship as the required means of realising a socialist constitution are eligible as members of trade unions.

It was pointed out to us by workers that the mere recognition of this clause on the part of the teacher was fully sufficient to permit of his being looked upon as a worthy collaborator in revolutionary school work.

The trade unionists were also against the title which we submitted for their society, namely the Workers' Trade Union for Education and Socialist Culture. They wanted to reject the word "socialist," owing to its political significance, but at last they agreed to retain it as being useful in the case in point.

The First Conference of the Trade Union, which took place in July of this year, elected a central committee, which was composed exclusively of Communists and in general showed a comparatively high organising capacity in the work of revolutionray instruction.

As a matter of fact, the Communists formed a majority at this conference, and the remaining minority followed so closely in step with the Communists that not on one occasion was any disagreement to be noticed between these two elements.

The union showed itself immediately to be a very powerful one. Seventy thousand persons were registered as members. At the present time it counts probably more than 80,000 members, seeing that it is growing fairly rapidly.

Great possibilities are foreseen for this union by the People's Commissariat for Education, which is of the opinion that precisely by organising the teachers in this manner excellent work has been carried through. Moreover, without contact between the leaders of the educational movement and the teachers themselves there is small possibility of radical reforms in connection with the school being put into actual practice. It is very probable that the People's Commissariat will shortly grant to the trade union the right to have legal representatives, with votes, to take part in the central and local commissions.

I will state further that public teachers and teachers of first grade schools predominate in the union to a very large extent. They predominate not only inasmuch as they are in general the more numerous but also from the point of view of percentage they are the more powerful, if one takes into consideration the real proportions that exist between these teachers and the teachers of the former middle grade schools.

The number of professors in the Trade Union is a still smaller one. Not only school teachers are eligible for membership but also the teachers of preparatory school and school extensions, as well as all kinds of school employees. It is the tendency of the People's Commissariat for Education that all the school employees, generally understood as the lower staff, such as servants, porters, cooks, etc., should also receive some degree of pedagogical instruction, seeing that persons who are closely connected with the work of education and are constantly in touch with children must, necessarily, dispose of some general knowledge if they are not to make tactless blunders and to lay obstacles in the smooth running of the pedagogical work.

The sympathy of the teachers towards school reforms has undergone a susceptible change for the better. This has already been indicated in the facts above stated by me, and it is likewise confirmed by the number of letters and inquiries that have recently come to hand. A number of distinguished pedagogues who previously sceptically stood aloof from all real active work have now begun to give proof of great energy and work hand in hand together with us.

It is true that some impatience is being shown, simultaneously, in certain Soviet circles owing to the slowness in the establishment of a second grade school. This impatience expressed in certain cases by an attempt to bring pressure to bear upon the teachers themselves, in general, in an attempt to intensify the activity of the government and the proletariat upon the school staffs (principally to be noticed in Petrograd), or, on the contrary, a distinct reduction of our demands upon this staff and an attempt to make compromises with the "backward" teachers (these tendencies are noticeable in Moscow).

One things, however, is self-evident: it is that the People's Commissariat for Education will permit of no shilly-shallying either in this or the other direction, because it is convinced that while the path upon which we have entered cannot, of course, give entirely satisfactory results from the very commencement, it is none the less the true path. If we regard the matter in this light, we find that the success made by us is enormous, as is shown, for instance, by the rapid organisation of a union which exceeds by one and a half times the former All Russian Union of Teachers, and which is indeed immeasurably greater from a point of work capacity.

Kreml, October 3. 1919.

The Co-operative Movement in Russia

By N. Krestinsky

THE history of the co-operative movement in Russia must be divided into three distinct periods, namely, Tzarism, bourgeois revolution and Soviet government.

I.

The first appearance in Russia of the co-operative movement began at the end of the sixties, and by the beginning of the war it was an organisation of some considerable force.

The number of co-operative societies in exisence was 10,000 on the 1st of January, 1914. There were about 1,400,000 members and the general turnover of the co-operative societies and their branches during 1913 was 250,000,000 roubles.

In spite of the large number of co-operative societies only a very small section of all the inhabitants of Russia (less than one per cent.) were covered by this movement. It was mostly a movement representing the well-to-do classes—town middle-bourgeois and the working class and peasantry.

Owing to the composition of its membership the co-operative movement stood apart from political life. The majority of the leaders of the co-operative movement, however, were antagonistic to the Tzarist régime. The autocracy did not tolerate any free and independent organisation of the Co-operative Societies even though such organisation had nothing revolutionary or socialistic about it. The Tzarist government even succeeded in arousing against it the animosity of the Co-operative Societies, composed almost exclusively of peacefully inclined representatives of the liberal and right socialist groups.

The supporters of the co-operative movement, however, were not and could not be fighters. During the period between the first revolution and the war some "factory co-operative societies" which at first followed the form of the usual factory "shops," or what was known as "Dependent Co-operative Societies," and which were in a state of almost entire dependence of the owners of the factores, began to form groups from amongst the more class-conscious and revolutionary inclined workers, but these groups were very few and for this reason their action at the Co-operative Conference was unable to influence the general character of the Co-operative Movement.

The Co-operative Society continued to remain a homogeneous purely bourgeois organisation, the best representatives of which were the intellectuals and liberals.

During the war the membership of the Co-operative Societies considerably increased. The scarcity of goods that prevailed together with the speculative prices imposed by traders induced the population to amalgamate in co-operative societies in order to protect themselves to some extent from the speculation of private traders.

By the end of the war, on the 1st of January, 1918, the number of co-operative societies had reached 25,000, that is to say more than the total number of co-operative societies in all the other countries of the world taken together, or in other words, had increased by 150 per cent. At the same time, the total membership had increased approximately to 9,000,000, whilst the general turnover for 1917 amounted to from six to seven milliards of roubles.

This growth in the co-operative movement was not accompanied by any social changes. As formerly, it remained a bourgeois organisation and the fact that since the revolution the action of the provincial co-operative conferences (there were no All Russian) became politically more pronounced and radical is due to the discontent that existed amongst the town inhabitants and also to the general position of the petty and middle bourgeoisie during the time of the war. They felt the burdens laid upon them by the Tzarist war very keenly, and as yet they had not perceived their new enemy, the proletariat, which was still conceal underground.

II.

After the February Revolution the position was suddenly changed.

The provisional government set up by the bourgeoisie found itself suddenly confronted with the revolutionary tactics and the communist programme of the proletariat in the shape of the Bolshevik Party.

An irreconcillible struggle began.

In the struggle that followed not one single social organisation was able to remain neutral. Sooner or later every organisation had to take its stand on one or the other side. The Co-operative Society was also obliged to take this course, and for the leaders of the Co-operative Society, considering its membership at that time, the choice was very apparent. They took the side of Kèrensky and even formed the most extreme "right" group upon which Kèrensky relied.

This made itself evident at the Special All Russian Conference of Co-operative Societies which took place on the 11th and 13th of September and the 4th and 6th of October, 1917. The first conference was specially convened prior to the Democratic Assembly, which met in Petrograd during the second half of September, 1917. It united all the bourgeois leaders of the co-operative movement and authorised them to act at the Democratic Assembly as the relentless opponents of the Proletarian Party, and to take all measures they might deem necessary for the preservation of the coalition anti-Soviet power.

After having succeeded at the Democratic Assembly with the aid of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, in preserving the power of Kèrensky and in forming a preliminary parliament, the leaders of the co-operative movement assembled a second time with the intention of organising, the election campaign to the Constituent Assembly. They were in hopes of playing in the Constitutent Assembly the same rôle as that which they had just played in the Democratic Assembly.

It was not only the General Co-operative Society alone which were used as a basis of action against the

first conference of the Workers' Co-operative Society, in August, 1917, also took place under the direction of the Mensheviks, who came forward with the plan for an Independent Co-operative Society as opposed to working class state power in general, including even a possible Soviet power.

III.

The Proletarian Party, against which such a strenuous campaign had been conducted by the leaders of the co-operative movement, found itself placed in power as a result of the October Revolution.

What should have been the relations then? We Communists, whatever our ideas may have been about the organisation of distribution under a well-developed Communist Society, have always understood that socialist construction accepts for its foundation those forms which have been created by the preceding capitalist society.

For instance, in the sphere of production, we do not of course destroy the factories and large industrial centres, but merely convert them into common property and change the form of their management. In exactly the same manner in the sphere of distribution, we were compelled to construct our distribution apparatus on the basis of former private trade, or else to make use of the already well developed apparatus of the Co-operative Societies.

It is impossible to be guided by sentiment in politics, and for this reason, notwithstanding the hostility between ourselves and the leaders of the co-operative movement, we did not delay to decide the question for ourselves by preferring the co-operative movement to private trading. The leaders of the co-operative movement acted otherwise. They were unwilling to reconcile themselves to the workers' revolution. They hoped that the victory of the Bolsheviks would not be permanent; they awaited our fall from day to day; as far as was in their power they helped to increase the industrial and food crisis, and declined to enter into negotiations with the authorities. There remained for us but one thing to do, and that was to arrange our own distributive apparatus on an equal standing with the co-operative and private trade, and to organise the Soviet provision shops. In doing so, however, we did not neglect to keep a vigilant eye upon the leaders of the co-operative movement, waiting to see whether they would reflect and enter into negotiations with us. This eventually happened, the leaders of the co-operative movement had become convinced that the fall of the Soviet power was not a question which could be reckoned in days or even weeks, but at least months.

This first understanding between the Soviet power and and the Co-operative Society took place in April, 1918. It was important for us that the Co-operative Society should cease its existence as a free amalgamation belonging to a comparatively few voluntary members. Our desire was that it should embrace all of the inhabitants of Soviet Russia and at the same time do away with the other unnecessary organs of distribution. The second claim that we laid upon the Co-operative Society consisted in its introducing the fundamental idea of our own food policy. Unfortunately, both these requirements proved to be unacceptable to the Co-operatives. For this reason, the decree of the 12th of April represents to some extent a compromise. Instead of obliging all the inhabitant of a given locality to amalgamate into one single co-operative society, it was decided merely to establish the principle of the Co-operative Society, supplying not only its own members but all the inhabitants. The former division of members, shareholders of the Co-operative, and non-members, was preserved. The decree also introduces certain facilities for joining the Co-operative Society (the membership fee for the poor being reduced to 50 copecks), as well as premiums for those of the Co-operative Societies which should succeed in incorporating all the inhabitants of their district. With a view to aiding the Co-operative Societies in their competition with private trade, a tax of 50 per cent was imposed upon the general turnover of the latter. Further, in view of the fact that the administration of the Co-operative Societies and their branches included not a few traders and confidential clerks of certain private trading undertakings, owing to which the co-operative movement was made to some extent dependent upon the bourgeois party, this decree prohibited the election of such people to the administration of Co-operative Societies.

The decree emphasises that all regulation of the Soviet power in respect to the supply and distribution of articles of first necessity are applicable not only to Soviet organs but also to private trades and co-operative organisations (this is a concession to the authorities on the part of the Co-operative Societies). In reurn for this, however, the decree gives the Co-operative Society the representation in the national and municipal organs of supply, whereas a similar right to the Soviet organs is not allowed in respect to the Co-operative Societies.

Thus, even after the 12th of April, 1918, the Co-operative Society continues to remain an independent apparatus, existing parallel with but distinct from the state, which has entered only into a temporary agreement with the state. It is extremely characteristic that this agreement, which gives us only a fraction of what we strived for in the co-operative movement, represented the maximum concessions we could secure not only from the general (i. e., purely bourgeois co-operative), but also from the so-called workers' co-operative as well.

The Second Special All Russian Conference of the Workers' Co-operative Movement, which took place at the beginning of April, 1918, definitely expressed this opinion.

The next act of the Soviet government in connection with the co-operative movement was the decree of the 8th of August, 1918, on the interchange of goods.

This decree imposes upon the co-operative movement the task of supplying the peasants with the products of the town industries in exchange for the surplus of their bread delivered to the Soviet government through its food department. At first, of course, the co-operative movement found itself unequal to its task—unequal, partly owing to the greatness of the task imposed upon it, secondly, to a considerable extent because the class principle placed as the basis of the decree on the interchange of goods was alien to the ideas of the co-operative leaders.

The petty bourgeoisie and the leaders of the co-operative movement were unable to accustom themselves to the idea that cloth, iron, matches, etc., should be distributed amongst the peasantry not in proportion with the quantity of bread they had given, but according to their needs—of giving more to the poor even though they had given no bread at all and of giving nothing at all to the "kulak," even though he had given much bread, but

had already a sufficient supply of manufactured products hidden away.

Even though the Co-operative Societies did not always adhere strictly to the decree, they delivered the goods to the villages and in distributing them did the work required of them by the Soviet government.

The rank and file of the Co-operative Societies, composed of the masses of the people, brought pressure to bear upon their leaders, thus making them more compliant, and on the 2nd of November it became possible to make a definite step forward towards more friendly relations with the Co-operative Societies.

It is true that the decree does not yet provide for the obligatory inclusion of all the population in co-operative societies, but it obliges every consumer to be registered at one of the distributive points, Soviets or Co-operative, and if we take into consideration the fact that in the vast majority of the rural districts in Russia there were and still are no Soviet stores or provision shops, this means that the vast majority of the inhabitants must necessarily be organised in the Co-operative Societies.

The continued development of the co-operative movement is foreseen in a decree by a number of other points. These are to the effect that the co-operative stores and shops are to be included in the general network of distributive points, that the People's Commissariat for Food provide such shops and stores with goods and food on the same level as the Soviet shops and that, finally, the co-operative shops and stores are not to be nationalised or municipalised. Those co-operative stores and shops which contrary to both the letter and spirit of former decrees were municipalised are by the present decree replaced on their former footing.

Notwithstanding the fact that the sphere of the co-operative movement was extended and converted into a large and necessary branch of socialist construction by above-mentioned decrees, the leaders of the co-operative movement were unable to reconcile themselves to the new direction that had been given to the work of the co-operative movement and whilst they preserved an exterior resemblance of loyalty to the Soviet power, they continued to offer passive resistance to the new undertakings. At this moment the Communist Party made an appeal to the workers to set about the task of influencing the co-operative movement from within. A number of active workers took up the work in the co-operative movement. Following the lines of least resistance, they began only with the Workers' Co-operative Societies, and afterwards succeeded in gaining a majority in the large Workers' Co-operative centres at the following election, and at the Third Conference of the Workers' Co-operative (December, 1918), completly defeated the Mensheviks, who up to this time had predominated in the Workers' Co-operative Movement. The intellectual centre of the Workers' Co-operative Movement, the All Russian Soviet of the Workers' Co-operative Movement became Communist.

Since that time we have been able to reorganise from above the co-operative movement by working upon it from two sides, firstly from above by affiliating the town and rural masses into the co-operative movement by law, and secondly, from within by joining the Local Workers' Co-operative societies and the Central Union and carrying out in these organisations the policy marked out by the Soviet of Workers' Co-operative movement.

The Supreme Council of People's Economy which at that time managed the co-operative movement issued a regulation which purged the leading organs of the co-operative movement from all elements which were antagonistic to the workers and poorer peasantry.

Besides the restrictions which were decreed on the 12th of April, a new regulation has been introduced which deprives all those who employ labour for the purpose of profit, those whose main source of income is derived from unearned revenue or property, all former traders who have been trading during the previous three years, provided not less than three years have passed since the liquidation of their affairs, church workers who have not already given proof of their loyalty to the cause of the Workers' Co-operative Movement, monks, former policemen, etc., from the right of voting in the Co-operative Society.

The next step taken in Soviet Co-operative legislation was the decree of the 20th of March, 1918, on the Co-operative Communes.

The introduction to this decree reads as follows:

"The serious food situation demands that extraordinary measures be taken to secure the strictest economy in natural resources in order to save the country from famine. It is necessary therefore that a uniform distributive apparatus should be created. This is so much more urgent and pressing in view of the fact that the present distributive organs (which can be divided principally into three groups, food provision organs, Workers' Co-operative Societies and the General Co-operative Societies receive the larger part of their products from one and the same source, whilst the disputes which arise between these groups have proved in practice to be an insurmountable obstacle to the proper carrying out of the work.

"The amalgamation of the existing distributive organs must be effected so that the principal apparatus for proper mass distribution, namely the Co-operative Society, which is the only apparatus which has been effectively tried and developed by many years of experience under capitalism, should not be abolished and thrown aside but converted into the basis of the new apparatus by being preserved, developed and perfected."

It is apparent from this quotation that the reason for hastening the publication of this decree was the acute food crisis which prevailed, as well as the endeavour to introduce a maximum amount of organisation and economy of forces in distribution, so as to be able to make use of a large number of workers for the work of storing and delivering bread.

This decree, however, is only a further development of what was outlined in the first decrees, and is in complete uniformity with the programme statements of our party as finally established in the party programme accepted during the same months at the Eighth Conference.

The decree places the Co-operative Society as the basis of all the organs of distribution and not the private or Soviet shops.

Not only was the work of distribution transferred to the Co-operative Society, but the shops, stores and bakeries, which were created by the local Food Commissariats also were transferred. In order that the leaders of the co-operative movement should not abuse the power that was invested in them against the interests of the Soviet government, and in order that the transfer of the work of distribution might result in the workers and starving peasants of the northern governments being better supplied with provisions, that town goods be properly distributed amongst the workers, and that the co-operative leaders should not attempt to rouse discontent

amongst the masses and direct it against the government by organising the work of supply which had been transferred to it, it was necessary at the same time to change the character of the former Co-operative Society. For this purpose the decree provides that all the inhabitants of a given locality, including even the poorest amongst them, shall be included as members of the United Co-operative Society of each town or rural district, and that all kinds of membership fees, which formerly served as an obstacle for joining the societies, shall be abolished. Further, until the elections to the new administrations of the Co-operative Societies representatives of the food organs, whose business it is to control and direct the work of the Co-operative Societies, are to be admitted to the provisional administration of the co-operative organisations with the rights of members. Similar representatives of the Central Soviet government and the United Workers' Co-operative Society are also introduced into central organs of the co-operative movement of the Central Union.

At the present time preparations are being made all over Russia for the elections to the leading co-operative organs, and in the course of two or two and a half months the reorganisation of the Russian co-operative movement will have been completed.

V.

In Russia, and particularly abroad, our opponents do not cease to accuse Soviet Russia and chiefly us Communists of having destroyed the Co-operative movement. It is possible to find in the Co-operative press statements to the effect that we even persecute the Co-operative movement.

I will quote just a few figures which prove that these accusations are nothing more than vile calumny which facts refute. It has already been stated above that on the 1st of January, 1918, the number of co-operative societies in existence in Russia reached 25,000; in September, 1919, only half a year later, the number of co-operative societies is existence (according to incomplete information) had reached 50,000. Despite the fact that the decree on the obligatory membership of all inhabitants to the co-operative societies had not yet been published, the number of members reaches a total of 17,000,000 or 18,000,000, in other words, during the existence of the Soviet government the number had doubled.

A still greater expansion is shown in the general turnover done by the Co-operative Societies. At the moment I have no figures at my disposal for 1919, but I will restrict myself to a comparison of the figures for 1917 and 1918. During 1917 the turnover of the Co-operative Societies was six to seven milliards of roubles, whilst in 1917 this figure reached twelve to fifteen milliards of roubles.

The figures which relate to the storage work carried on by the Central Union are still more striking, furthermore these figures are more accurate and complete. During 1917 6,000 wagons of various goods passed through the hands of the Central Union; in 1918 this figure is increased to 32,000 wagons. This increase of more than five times is explained by the fact that the Central Union is one of the principal agencies.

Instead of persecution and destruction, the Co-operative Society under the Soviet government experienced a period of magnificent progress, unprecedented either under Tzarism or Kèrensky.

Of course, however numerous these facts might be, they could not prevent a small section of the co-operative leaders (with the Mensheviks, Right Social Revolutionaries, and still more moderate socialists of the type of Prokopovich and Kuskovoi at their head) from opening a campaign against the decree of the 20th of March. Fortunately, however, their evil designs met with no response amongst the wide masses of the workers.

At present it is not the former privileged member who after paying his share in the Co-operative Society was accustomed to receive from "his" co-operative more products than anybody else, but the mass worker and the mass of the peasantry who began to feel that they were the owners of the Co-operative Society. It was not possible for every worker or peasant to create a privileged position for himself. What he had to think about was not how to get hold of the biggest possible portion for the privileged minority, but of how to improve the position of all.

The guiding spirit of the Soviet policy is both intelligible and dear to this new owner of the Co-operative Society, the Communist proletarian and peasant united in fighting the great internal and external enemy. For this reason the struggle that the former administrators of the Co-operative Societies conducted against the Soviet power met with no response and died out.

In this manner, after having passed through a period of temporary neutrality, the Co-operative Society is being rapidly converted from what was preeminently bourgeois groups of the inhabitants into a Soviet organisation which shares our views, perceives friends and enemies where we perceive them, and jointly carries with us the every day work of construction of a new society.

This is what had to happen and this is what did happen, because it is impossible for the mass organisation of the workers for any long period to remain outside of the general current of proletarian struggle.

The Rule of the Proletariat in the Factories

By L. Kritsman

IN spite of the fact that for nearly a century past the political atmosphere of Europe and America has been full of ideas of liberty, constitution, republics and the rule of the people, there is still a sphere left where no one dared even to dream of liberty and the people's rule, where there was no mention of the constitution, where the autocracy of the master and ruler was unquestioned and absolute. This is the corner which Marx half a century ago used to write: "Places hidden from the sight of strangers, where the visitor meets with an inscription, 'Strangers are forbidden to enter.' These are factories, works, mines, generally speaking places where capital is marvellously thriving at the expense of labour. This is the holy of holies of capitalism."

The capitalists were jealously watching their sacred rights and for a long time would not consent even to a constitutional interference by the clerk of capital—the capitalist government—being justly afraid that, owing to the zeal with which the capitalists were addicted to the worship of capital, the poor victim of the zeal; i. e, the labor power consumed in the process of industry, might soon be worn out, and with its disappearance, like the disappearance of the hen that laid the golden eggs, the possibility of the marvellous growth of capitalism would disappear.

It is precisely that resistance which was the cause that factory legislation was everywhere introduced with such difficulties and has nowhere been fully realised.

We must bear in mind that the capitalists were prepared to grant a certain license to their capialist government; but if any labour organisation, be it ever the tamest of the domesticated trade unions, raised the question of the tamest factory constitution, capital was transported with rage and indignation at that daring attempt on its "natural rights," this lèse majesté, it would not listen to any concessions in this matter.

The world catastrophe of 1914-1917 led to the breaking of the weakest link in its world chain—Russia. The vacillating capitalist rule of the Russian Coaliton Provisional government, which for eight months was dancing on the volcano of the proletarian revolution, was trying with all its might to protect the holy of holies of capitalism. The proletariat, not strong enough to take the power in its own hands, demanded a labour control, factory constitution, which would only give it the right to supervise, but the coalition government, consisting of socialists who became the supporters of capitalism and of capitalists, who became pseudo-friends of socialism, answered with a frantic attack on the working class, a campaign of provocation against the Bolsheviks as the vanguard of the proletariat. The very watchword of "labour control" was only advanced as a means of self-defense by the proletariat; for the capitalists reckoned to smother the clearly expressed will of the proletariat to seize the power, with "the bony hand of hunger," using the expression of Riabushinsky, one of their leaders, and therefore the capitalists did their utmost to stop the enterprises by means of an artificially created shortage of raw material and fuel, by not ordering repairs, or spending the sums necessary for the current expenses, etc. The more necessary it became for the proletariat to realise its labour control, which would put an end to the industrial sabotage, which was assuming the shape of a disguised lockout, the more stubbornly did capital defend its autocratic rule in the factories.

Only when the chain broke owing to the strain when the Russian proletariat assumed political power was the Gordian knot of "sabotage" cut and the autocracy of capital in the factories broken down. The victorious proletariat could no longer be satisfied with a modest request for a factory constitution; the very lessons of life taught us that the capitalist is both unwilling and unable to become a constitutional monarch, that, in spite of all his assurances to the contrary, he is constantly meditating state treason, i. e., the continuation of the sabotage, that he is not at all inclined to give the workers an opportunty of learning from him the art of managing the enterprise (as was hoped by the naive advocates of a labour control after the October Revolution) that he will be pleased to make fools of others, but will not make a fool of himself. And so, instead of a constitution, the autocracy of the people was established at the factory. Not labour control, but labour administration.

This transition from the autocracy of capital to the autocracy of the proletariat at the factory was a historic event of immense importance; for it is the essence of the social proletarian revolution. Of course, this transition could not take place in one day as if by magic—or by decrees of the proletarian Soviet government, but in its main features it was realised within *one* year. It was capable of realisation because in *backward* capitalist countries like Russia there is none the less a highly concentrated and centralised system of big capitalist industry, which was controlled by the central apparatus of a few big banks. Though the individual representatives of the capitalists and the open and the secret servants of capital, were gradually in the course of the year removed from the administration of the enterprises and their combines, though the administration only gradually became purely proletarian, none the less from the very beginning even in factories, where formerly there was only a labour control, a real *labour administration* was established.

Even before the revolution Russia had many syndicates, and a considerable part of industry was unified by banks into syndicates. When the autocracy of capital was changed into the dictatorship of the proletariat the process of the concentration of industry thereby attained an extent which so far had never been attained anywhere in the whole world.

To judge of the results of the economic activity of the Russian proletariat, which took the power in its hands, it is first of all necessary to become acquainted with the extraordinarily difficult conditions of its work.

The first difficulty consisted in the very *character of the revolution*. Industry, and economics, generally speaking, can exist and develop only when they are systematically organised, have an adequate administration, in other words when they possess definite industrial conditions. At the time when the management is changing

hands, gradually evolving from the capitalist to a labour one, the whole production passes through a period of depression. The position gradually recovers until the labour administration becomes fully competent in its work.

The second difficulty was caused by the backward condition of Russia as a capitalist country. Though the concentration of industry of big capital played an undoubtedly dominating part in the economics of Russia, yet owing to the *insufficient development of capitalism* the overwhelming majority of the population consisted of peasants, to a large extent turned into semi-proletarians and paupers. This peasantry supported the proletariat in his fight for power, in the hope of seizing all the land and removing root and branch the feudal relations. This peasant mass which sometimes manifest the proletarian and revolutionary class instinct, shows at times the spirit of a small owner, farmer and trader. like its social kinsman, the urban lower middle class (small artisans and traders) with its vacillating and anarchical proprietary psychology, irreconcillible to the spirit of communism. All this creates enormous difficulties for the communist economic organisation, and consequently for the whole economic activity of the Proletarian Soviet government.

The third difficulty consisted in the *world-wide scope* of the Russian proletarian revolution. Being itself the result of the world catastrophe—of the war between the giants of imperialism, our revolution threatens to kindle the flames of the proletarian social revolution in the whole world and turn an imperialist war into a class war. As a consequence the proletarian republic of soviets was all the time an object of either an imperialist attack on the part of the imperialist powers (Germany in 1918, England, France and others in 1919), or an attack of (Koltchak, Denikin, Lianosov, Tchaikovsky) mercenaries in the pay of the same imperialist powers. Owing to this support lent by the imperial robbers, civil war is being dragged on, the Russian bourgeoisie, crushed by the proletariat, acquires the possibility of contsantly reorganising itself in order to fight for the restoration of the sacred right to exploit the proletarians. Owing to this circumstance the industries of Soviet Russia, which are in the hands of the labour administration, are cut off from the sources of *fuel* (the coal regions of the Don Basin was occupied by the Germans and is now occupied by Denikin, while the oil regions around Baku was occupied by the Germans, and later on by the British); of *raw material* (cotton fields of Turkestan was cut off by the Czekho-Slovaks, afterwards by Koltchack; and the mines of Krivon Ros was occupied by the Germans,now by Denikin; the Urals by Szekho-Slovaks, later by Koltchak, and of food the Ukraine and North Caucasus was first occupied by the Germans and later by Denikin; the Volga region, Ural and Siberia was occupied by the Czekho-Slovaks, afterwards by Koltchak). Finally the blockade, though it was not officially declared, but carried out with unrelenting severity by the imperialist powers of the Entente, cuts the proletarian Soviet Republic off from those sources which could supply it with machines, which have been worn out in the course of the war and highly necessary both for industrial and agricultural purposes.

In spite of such exceptionally hard conditions of existence, the labour administration of national wealth in a backward, devastated country, which is still being wasted, surrounded by an iron ring of the blockade—continues with a hammer in one hand and a rifle in another for nearly two years to uphold the gains of the *world* social revolution, marching at the head of the whole world proletariat and maintaining its stronghold in the face of an omnipotent (as it appeared and still appears to many) adversary.

This colossal unforeseen force of resistance is drawn by the proletarian republic from its innate striving to preserve the live labour force from decomposition. Human labor power is one of the fundamental economic forces of the community. Capital in general, and every particular, adopted an attitude toward the live labour power which can only be described as parasitical. Of all the social economic forces only labour power belonged to the proletarian and not to capital. The capitalist only possessed the "right" to use it, a right based on the neccessity of the proletariat to sell its labour power to whoever was able to pay for it; the capitalists were therefore not immediately interested in its reproduction. As a result, labour power was being constantly sapped in normal times by the excessive length of the labour day and the great intensity of labour; in period of high economic pressure and war labour power as well as machinery was worn out by the intense feverish work hunger, and insufficient feeding caused by unemployment and the lowering of wages played havoc with labour power.

Only a labour administration for the first time professed and carried out a policy for the preservation of labour power, as a necessary condition for the continual industrial activity of the community. It was only that administration which at last gave effect to the minimum programme of social democracy.

Moreover, the labour government, in order to preserve the proletariat not only supplies the proletarians with the rations several times (two to four times) larger than those given to the idle representatives of the bourgeoisie, but, when necessary, confiscates various things, including apartments, from the bourgeoisie and hands them over to the proletarians. What the enemies of the labour government call *consuming* communism is thus only a policy of preserving the fundamental social *productive* force—the proletariat.

The success of the labour administration is well demonstrated internally by the growth of the Red Army. We wish to emphasise here only one feature of this grand historic exploit of the Russia proletariat, namely, the supply of the Red Army. It is faced by an enemy who holds in his possession the sources of food, raw material, and fuel, who is well cared for by the whole world of capitalism, and yet the Red Army is supplied not worse and often even better than the army of the adversary.

This result could only have been achieved by the rational concentration of efforts concentrated on the fulfillment of the most important tasks, i. e., owing to good organisation and the systematic growth of national economy. Russia in the period of the labour government has made in this field a tremendous advance. At the present time there is hardly a branch of national economy left, especially of indutary, which has not been centred in the hands of a special labour organ, cognisant of all the resources and possibilities of its enterprises and governing them through the medium of its labour administration.

We have not only organised big industries, but to a large extent small industries as well; agriculture is also organised to a certain extent. Furthermore, an immense statistical work is being carried out in order to register all the productive forces of the country. Thus, not only

has the foundation been laid for the future communist state, but even at the present time there is a possibility of a systematic concentration of efforts for the carrying out of the most urgent tasks.

Moreover, this organisation of national economy allows the labour administration to fight against the deterioration of the productive forces, which started during the war, and this fight is already giving some favourable results in spite of the disorganisation caused by the war and all the above-mentioned almost insuperable difficulties. One of the methods of combatting the deterioration of the productive forces is the concentration of industry; the closing down of small technically ill-equipped, frequently unsanitary enterprises, and the concentration of the whole industry in large enterprises; this method is being successfully applied to all branches of industry. The other method is the transfer of enterprises to more favourable economic surroundings; nearer to sources of power, fuel and raw material; I must first of all mention in this connection the transfer of a series of enterprises from Petrograd—which was mainly supplied with foreign coal and South Russia raw material—to Central Russia and the Ural.

An immense work has also been done with regard to the adaptation of industry to the new radically changed conditions; the transfer of a large number of enterprises to wood fuel and the utilisation of substitutes of different kinds.

The limits of production have been considerably restrained in many factories and work, in the sense that articles manufactured have been reduced to a few standard-types; this leads to the increased productivity of labour. Then various measures have been taken to prevent adulteration and special attention has been given to adapt the quality of the manufactured articles to the demands of the masses of the population. In many branches of national economy the centralisaton of the supply has been attained, a state supply of raw material has been organised.

Constructions are being undertaken on a limited scale, perhaps, but on a more rational plan; I mean especially the construction of auxiliary railways, which so far had hardly been at all. Big electric stations are being constructed for heating with peat and the utilisation of water power. New industries non-existent up till now in Russia are being organised. They are often small in size but very necessary for the national economy of the country.

Finally, there is a great work of preparation for the future. For the future is our, the victorious proletariat. Geological researches have been carried out on a huge scale in considerable parts of Russia; these researches have given great results, and promise to give still more in the future. Schemes of colossal works have been worked out; the irrigation of Turkestan for the spread of cotton growing, construction of electric stations for the electrification of the whole country, plans for canals and railways, and finally the scientific technical experiments for the application of a series of the most important inventions and a multitude of other preliminary researches.

Enormous productive energies are dormant in the proletariat. Not only will the proletarian administration lead to a more systematic organisation of public labour, but also to the destruction of its unproductive waste, unavoidable under the unorganised and anarchical capitalist order, to the raising of the productivity of the *whole* social labour to a maximum attained by the best individual enterprises. The labour administration, which is the synthesis of organisaton of industry and of the organisation of the labour class, which were enemies under the capitalist order, introduces one new element, enthusiasm, which has been clearly demonstrated at the communist-"subotniki," i. e., the voluntary and unpaid work of the communist workers on Saturdays after the ordinary working day; this work—done not for money but exclusively from the feeling of enthusiasm before the great proletarian revolution, which is to free mankind and leading it out of the capitalist world of mud, blood and tears into the shining world of labour—proves to be three, four and five times more productive than the usual work. This enthusiasm will be raised to a higher pitch when the Russian vanguard of the world proletariat, which is gone far in advance of the main body, will see that other troops from the main body are hastening to join it, and when the whole world proletariat, closing its ranks, will by a common effort tear to pieces the chains of capitalism and slavery, which has already been split in one place, and will proclaim the dictatorship of the world proletariat—the world communism.

Economics and Politics in the Epoch of Proletarian Dictatorship

By N. Lenin

I DECIDED to write a little pamphlet on the above topic to commemorate the second anniversary of the Soviet Government. But in the hurly burly of everyday work I only succeeded in the preliminary attempt to write out separate parts of it. I therefore decided to write a short essay in the form of a brief and expound the ideas which are most essential in the given question. Needless to say when, the narrative proceeds in the form of a brief, it is bound to carry with it many inconveniences and drawbacks. However, may be, I shall none the less attain the modest aim, which I placed before myself in this small magazine article, — to put the question and leave it for the discussion of the communists of various countries.

I.

Theoretically speaking, there is no doubt that a certain transition period lies between capitalism and communism. This period is bound to bear on itself the imprint of the qualities and features of both these systems. It can only be a period of struggle between the dying capitalism and the rising communism, or in other words, between the defeated but not annihilated capitalism and the rising and as yet very weak communism.

Not only a Marxist but every educated man acquainted with the theory of evolution must clearly realise the necessity of a whole historic epoch which is characterised by the features of the transitory period. However, all the discussions concerning the advent of socialism which we hear from modern representtives of the petty bourgeois democracy (and such are, in spite of their pseudo-socialist badge, all the representaties of the Second International, including such men as Macdonald, Jean Longuet, Kautzky and Fridrich Adler) are marked by a complete oblivion of that obvious truth. Petty bourgeois democrats are apt to turn away in disgust from the class struggle, they are dreaming of how to avoid it, they try to reconcilliate, to smooth the path, to blunt the edges. Therefore, such democrats either refuse to recognise a whole historic period of the transition from capitalism to communism, or consider it their task to invent schemes whereby the two antagonistic forces can be reconcilled instead of placing themselves at the head of them.

II.

In Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat must necessarily possess certain peculiarities distingushing it from the advanced countries, on account of the marked backwardness and the petty bourgeois features of our country. But the essential forces—and the essential forms of political economy—are the same in Russia as in any capitalist country, so that these peculiaries can in no way effect the principal idea.

These essential forms of political economy are capitalism, small manufacturers, communism. The essential forces are the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie (especially the peasant class), the proletariat.

Economics in Russia in the epoch of proletarian dictatorship consists in the struggle of the first attempts of communistically organised labour—on the basis of production on a large scale—with small manufactures and capitalism, which preserved itself and is regenerating on the basis of small manufacture.

Labbur is communistically unified in Russia in so far as private property in the means of production is abolished, and also as the proletarian government is organising for the whole country a big industry on government land and in state enterprises, distributes labour forces between the various branches of agriculture and industries, distributes the enormous quatities of articles of consumption belonging to the state among the workers.

We speak of the "first steps" of communism in Russia (as mentioned in our party programme adopted in March, 1919,) for all these conditions have only partially been realised here, in other words, the realisation of these conditions has only reached the primary stage Everything that could be achieved with a single revolutionary stroke immediately has been achieved. On the very first day of the proletarian dictatorship, October 26th, 1917, private property in land was abolished without compensation to big proprietors—the big land owners were exproprated. In a few months all the big capitalists, owners of factories, works, limited companies, banks, railways, etc., were also expropriated without compensation. The state organisation of big industry, the transition from "labour control" to "labour administration" in the factories, works and railways has in this essential and main lines been already carried out, but it has only just started in regard to agriculture (the Soviet estates—big farms organised by the labour government on state owned land). In the same way we have only just started the organisation of various forms of small agricultural partnerships as a transition from the small trading agriculture to communist agriculture*). The same must be said of the state organisation of the distribution of products in place of private trading, such as the state stocking and supplying the towns with bread and the villages with manufactured articles. I shall quote below the statistical data in regard to this question.

The peasant holdings continue to remain small trading industries. Here we observe a very wide and deeply rooted foundation of capitalism. Capitalism can be preserved and regenerated on that foundation—it will

*) The number of Soviet estates and "agricultural communes" in Soviet Russia is estimated respectively at 3537 and 1966; the number of agricultural "artels" (unlimited partnerships) at 3690. Our Central Statistical Department is now registering all the estates and communes. The results of the registration are expected to be at hand in November, 1919.

here give a stubborn battle to communism. The forms of this struggle are "Meshochnichestvo"* and speculation directed against the state storing of bread and other products, generally speaking, against the state distribution of products.

III.

To illustrate these abstract theoretical propositions let me adduce some concrete facts:

The state storing of bread in Russia, according to information supplied by the People's Commissariat for Food, gave from August 1, 1917, to August 1, 1918, 30,000,000 poods. Next year it gave 119,000,000 poods. For the first three months of the following year (1919-1920) the storing apparently amounted to 45,000,000 poods, as against 37,000,000 poods for the same months (August-September) of 1918.

These figures are eloquent proof of the slow but gradual improvement in the sense of a victory of communism over capitalism. This improvement is attained in spite of unheard of difficulties caused by the civil war, which is organised by Russian and foreign capitalists who are mobilising all the forces of the mightest empire of the world.

Therefore, in spite of all the lies and calumnies of the bourgeoisie of all countries and their open and disguised allies ("socialists" of the Second International), one thing remains certain: Judging matters from the standpoint of the fundamental economic problem, we have secured a victory for the proletarian dictatorship, for communism over capitalism. That is precisely why the bourgeoisie of the whole world is raging and tearing against Bolshevism, organising military invasions, plots, etc., against the bolsheviks. It understands fully well that our victory is inevitable, that public economy is going to be reconstructed unless we are crushed by military power. But it will not succeed in crushing us that way.

The following statistics will prove how far we succeeded in vanquishing capitalism in the short period that we have had at our disposal, although we were faced by difficulties unparalleled in the history of mankind. The Central Statistical Department has just prepared for publication the data concerning production and consumption of bread, not for the whole of Soviet Russia but for twenty-six governments:

26 governments of Soviet Russia:	population in millions,	production per year (exclusive of seeds of forage) in millions of poods.	bread delivered to By the Commissariat (mill. poods)	by the "meshochniki" (mill. poods)	Total amount of bread disposed of by the population in millions of poods.	Consumption of bread per head of the population in poods.
Producing governments	towns 4,4 country 26,6	— 623,4	20,0 —	20,6 —	41,3	9,5 16,9
Consuming governments.	towns 5,9 country 13,9	— 114,0	20,0 12,1	20,0 27,8	40,0 151,4	6,8 11,0
Quota (26 governments)	52,7	739,4	80,3	96,1	774,7	44,2

*"From the word "meshok"—a bag. The system of individual peasants bringing flour and other products in bags, from the producing localities to the towns.

Thus the Food Commissariat supplies the towns with about half the bread, the other half is supplied by "meshochniki." A precise investigation of the feeding of town workers in 1918 gave precisely that proportion. The worker pays for the bread which he gets from the government ten times less than for that supplied by the "meshochniki." The price of bread from the speculators is ten times more than the government price. The searching inquiry into the workingman's budget gives us that result.

IV.

The data quoted if properly analysed, reveal precise material which gives in its essential traits the outline of the present economic position of Soviet Russia. The workers are freed from perpetual oppressors and exploiters—the landowners and capitalists. This is a step forward in the direction of real liberty and real equality, a step which in its magnitude, its significance and the rapidity of action is unparalleled in the history of mankind cannot be estimated by the followers of the bourgeoisie (the petty bourgeois democrats are included in this definition) who speak of liberty and equality in the sense of a parliamentary bourgeois democracy, falsely calling it "democracy in general" or "pure democracy."—*Kautzky.*

But the workers mean only real equality, real liberty (freedom from the landowners and capitalists), and that is why they so firmly uphold the government of the Soviets.

In a peasant country, peasants generally speaking, were the gainers by the proletarian dictatorship. They were the first to benefit, their gain was immediate, and they gained more than any one else. The peasant was starving in Russia under the landowners and capitalists. Never in the course of many centuries of our history was a peasant given a chance of working for himself: he starved, giving many hundreds of millions of poods of corn to the capitalists, to towns and abroad. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the peasant *for the first time* worked for himself and was *feeling better than a townsman.* For the first time he acquired real liberty: the right to eat his own bread, the right not to starve. When land was being distributed the principle of equality was applied very thoroughly; in the overwhelming majority of cases peasants divide land "per head of population."

Socialism means the abolition of classes.

In order to destroy the classes it is first of all necessary to depose the landowners and capitalists. We have fulfilled that part of the task, but it is only a part and not the most difficult one. To destroy the classes it is necessary in the second place to destroy the distinction between the workingman and the peasant, to make *all workers.* This cannot be done at once. This is an infinitely more difficult task and of necessity requires considerable time. This is a problem which cannot be solved by putting down any class. It can only be solved by the organised reconstruction of the whole social system, by the transition from the individual, isolated small industry to a socialised large industry. Such a transition must of necessity take a long time. Such a transition can only be retarded or hampered by hasty or careless executive or legislative measures. We can hasten that transition only by rendering such assistance to the peasant, which would enable him to radically improve the methods of agriculture on a large scale.

To solve the second, the most difficult part of the task, the proletariat after vanquishing the bourgeoisie must unswervingly adopt the following attitude with regard to the peasantry; the proletarian must distinguish and separate the labouring peasants from the peasant proprietor—the peasant worker from the peasant trader—the peasant toiler from the peasant profiteer.

The whole essence of socialism lies in that distinction.

It is not surprising that the self-styled socialists, who in fact are petty bourgeois democrats (Martov, Chernov, Kautzky, etc.) are incapable of understanding that essence of socialism.

The distinction pointed out above is very difficult, for in real life all the attributes of a "peasant," however they may differ, however contradictory they may be, are merged into one whole. And yet the distinction is possible, and not only is it possible, but it follows inevitably from the conditions of rural economy and peasant life. The labouring peasant has for ages been oppressed by landowners, capitalists, traders, profiteers and *their* states, including the most democratic bourgeois republics. The toiling peasant has for ages felt enmity and hatred towards those oppressors and exploiters, and this "education" given by life, *forces* the peasant to seek an alliance with the workingman against the capitalist, against the profiteers, against the trader. At the same time the economic conditions of the commercial system inevitably turn the peasant (not always but in the most of cases into a trader and profiteer.

The statistical data adduced above clearly shows the difference between the toiling peasant and the peasant profiteer. The former in 1918-1919 gave to the starving workingmen in towns 40,000,000 poods of bread at fixed government prices through the medium of state institutions, in spite of all the defects of such institutions, of which the workers' government is fully conscious, defects are inevitable in the first period of the transition to socialism. This type of peasant is a labouring peasant, a fully fledged comrade of the socialist worker, his most reliable ally, his brother in his battle against capitalism. The latter type of peasant, who surreptitiously sold 40,000,000 poods of bread at a price ten times higher than the government price, has benefitted by want and hunger which reign among the town workers, has cheated the state, causing everywhere deceit, robbery, cheating—such a peasant is a profiteer, an ally of the capitalist, he is the class enemy of the worker, he is an exploiter. For to hoard the surplus bread gathered from the state owned land by means of implements which were produced by labour not only of the peasant but also by that of the worker, to hoard the surplus bread and speculate with it is to act as an exploiter of the hungry.

On all sides we are accused of being offenders against liberty, equality, democracy and the inequality between the worker and the peasant in our constitution, the closing of the Constituent Assembly, the forcible confiscation of the surplus bread, etc., are quoted as proof of this. To this we reply: Never in the history of the world was there a state which did so much for the removal of that inequality, that absence of liberty, from which the peasant toiler has suffered for ages. But we do not give equality to the peasant profiteer, as we do not recognise any "equality" between the exploiters and his victim, the well fed and the hungry, or the "freedom" of the former to rob the latter. And we shall treat those educated men who do not want to understand that distinction as white guards, although they may call themselves democrats, socialists or internationalists, or their names be Kautzky, Chernov or Martov.

V.

Socialism means the destruction of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat did for that object all that it could. But it is impossible to destroy the classes at once.

Classes *remained* and *will remain* during the period of the proletarian dictatorship. When classes disappear, dictatorship will be unnecessary. They will not disappear without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Classes have remained but *each of* them has changed its physiognomy in the era of the proletarian dictatorship; it assumes a different form.

Under capitalism the proletariat was an oppressed class, a class deprived of all ownership in the means of production, a class which alone was wholly and unreservedly opposed to the bourgeoisie, and it is for that reason that it alone could remain revolutionary to the end. After deposing the bourgeoisie and seizing political power, the proletariat has become the *dominant* class; it holds in its hands the helm of state, it disposes of the already nationalised means of production, it leads the vacillating intermediate elements and classes, it crushes the power of resistance of the exploiters. All these are *special* tasks of the class struggle, tasks which the proletarian did not and could not know up to now.

The class of exploiters, landowners and capitalists has not disappeared and cannot disappear at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters are defeated but not exterminated. They have still their international base—the international capital—of which they form a branch. They have still a part of their means of production, they have money and enormous social connections. Their power of resistance has increased a hundred thousand fold just because of their defeat. This knowledge of the "art" of state, military and economic management confers on them an exceedingly great advantage so that their importance is infinitely greater than their numbers, compared with the rest of the population would lead us to expect. The class struggle of the defeated exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i. e., against the proletariat, has become infinitely more bitter than before. And this could not be otherwise, if we have to do with a real revolution, and if the idea of revolution is not falsified (as is done by all the heroes of the Second International) by reformist illusions.

Finally the peasantry in common with the whole petty bourgeoisie occupies also under the dictatorship of the proletariat an intermediate position on one hand, it is a very considerable (and an enormous one in backward Russia) mass of workers, which is bound together by the common interests of the workers to free themselves from the landowner and the capitalist; on the other hand, they are isolated small proprietors and traders. Such economic situations inevitably cause vacillations between the landowner and the bourgeoisie. At times, when the fight between the two latter assumes a more acute form, when all the social relations are radically changed, it is inevitable that they, accustomed as the peasants and petty bourgeois are to follow the old, time honoured, traditional ways, should vacillate from one side to another and show doubts and uncertainty.

With regard to this class—or to these social elements—the tasks of the proletariat consists in guiding them, in trying to obtain influence over them. To lead the vacillating, the unsteady—that is the duty of the proletariat.

If we contrast all the fundamental forces or classes and their relations as changed by the proletarian dictatorship, we shall see that the commonplace petty bourgeois conception of the transition to socialism "through democracy" generally, as it is advocated by all the representatives of the Second International, is an utter theoretical absurdity. The prejudice borrowed from the bourgeoisie with respect to the essence of "democracy," outside the existing classes, lies at the root of that error. In fact democracy itself is being totally transformed under the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle, it is being raised to a higher level, dominating everything else and altering all the social conditions.

Platitudes concerning liberty, equality, democracy, are in fact equivalent to the senseless repetition of ideas which are an exact replica of the relations which exist under the commercial system. To attempt by means of these platitudes to solve definite tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, means that to adopt the method of thinking and the theoretical abstract standpoint of the bourgeoisie. From the standpoint of the proletariat the question can only be put in the following way: The freedom from oppression, but from what class? Equality, but of what classes? Is democracy to be on the base of private property or on the base of the struggle for the abolition of private property, etc.?

Long ago Engels in his "Anti-Dühring," explained the conception of equality, when it is the replica of the relations which exist under the commercial system can degenerate into a prejudice, if that equality is not understood in the sense of the *abolition of classes*. This elementary truth about the difference between the democratic bourgeois and the socialist conceptions of equality is constantly being forgotten. If we keep in mind, we must clearly realise that the proletariat, by putting down the bourgeoisie, is making a first step towards the final abolition of classes, and that in order to succeed in it, the proletariat is bound to continue its class struggle, using the machinery of state power and applying various methods of warfare, influence and punishment in regard to the defeated bourgeoisie and in regard to the vacillating petty bourgeoisie.

October 30, 1919.

(To be Continued.)

Revolution or Evolution

By F. Loriot

WE are revolutionaries. What does that mean? In the first place it means that we are convinced that the transition from a capitalist to a communist society is impossible without revolution; secondly, that we are prepared to give all of our material and spiritual forces to the cause of proletarian revolution.

But here, first of all, arises a question that, in connection with the war and, in particular with the revolutionary situation which is the result, there has been created a profound disagreement among the French labour organisation, namely, "What is revolution? If a similar question had been put to labour circles prior to 1914, it would have created a smile. At that time all recognised, at least, silently recognised, for of course it never entered anybody's head to argue about the meaning of the word, that revolution was an illegal, sudden and essentially violent substitution of one political or economic system by another.

There were supporters and opponents of revolution, and if some of us at that time, just as nowadays, supported the erroneous idea that electoral right and the right of combination and assembly which so-called democracies reserve to the workers, gave the latter a sufficiently strong weapon with which to conduct its struggle for complete liberation against the monster of capitalism, then these persons did not, at any rate, call themselves revolutionaries, and for this reason gave no cause for any misapprehensions.

At present all this has become changed. At present there are no reformists, at least in the Confédération Général du Travail there is exclusively nothing but revolutionaries. The leaders of the Confédération declare themselves, in one voice, to be revolutionaries; and wholly support the two revolutionary demands mentioned by us above, which they consider even as being generally recognised facts. There remains only to agree with them as to the meaning of the word "revolution."

"Is it," inquires Jouhaux, "a catastrophic act which marks the wreck of the old constitution or is it, on the contrary, a slow process of evolution, which little by little, embraces the whole of this constitution, and which, in gradually destroying the existing constitution, simultaneously creates in its place the organism by which it must be substituted? This is what revolution is for class conscious workers, and it is in this way that the Confédération Générale du Travail has always understood it."

It is possible, although we are rather inclined to doubt fact always understand revolution in this manner, and that it never made a distinction between that and a "slow process of evolution," which excludes all "catastrophic acts"; however, and Jouhaux will have to forgive me for it—there have always been, are, and will be *class conscious* revolutionaries who have held, do hold and will hold an entirely different view of revolution than the present secretary of the Confédération Générale du Travail.

I am convinced that I am giving expression to the opinion of a number of persons when I state that if revolution, as is clear, does not represent only one catastrophic act, which Jouhaux is so much alarmed about, if every finished revolution is an entire cycle which leads to the establishment of a new society, then, on the other hand, there can be no revolution without this preliminary

catastrophic period, during which the destruction of the constitution doomed to ruin takes place by more or less violence, in conformity with the amount of resistance offered.

The idea of this slow, pacific and legal revolution, which has been crowned with the formula of Prudhomme: "The workshop will oust the government," "The workshop will cause the government to disappear," is at the first glance exceedingly seductive. Why, indeed, should we exert our efforts for the destruction of a decrepit building which in falling threatens to bury the whole of society under its ruin, if it is possible, without any risk or hard work, to gradually substitute all the old bricks by new ones? Why must we at once expropriate the owner of this building, if it is possible to live on excellent terms with him, and that when the time comes we shall have no difficulty in persuading him to leave our new and comfortable reconstructed house?

The only bad thing about all this is that this idea is a delusive mirage, a dangerous utopia.

The development of society, without a doubt, shows a remarkable similarity to the phenomena of the reproduction of species. Like the human embryo, the social embryo at first also finds in the sphere in which it has been conceived, the necessary conditions and substances for its development.

However, in order that a new being shall come into the world it is necessary that pregnancy should end in birth, i. e., in violent revolution. When cells, alive of their own independent activity, develop in an organism and further develop at the expense of the latter it is necessary that at a given moment of their development they should leave this organism, as otherwise they can die themselves and also be the cause of the death of the whole organism. As regards changes in the forms of society, experience shows us (this, moreover, has been demonstrated in a highly convincing and lucid manner by K. Radek in his brochure entitled, "From Science to Action") that the doctrine of the mechanical transition of capitalism to socialism is a chimera which is in contradiction to a materialist understanding of history. The systems of society which preceded capitalism disappeared before the foundation of the new society had been finally formed. They fell only after they had become a serious obstacle for elements of the new society.

In our times it is insufficient to compare Marx and Engels in order to explode the significance of this historical law of the development of society.

It is obvious, moreover, that after substracting the abstract formula of Prudhomme, "The workshop will cause the government to disappear," the neo-revolutionism of Jouhaux is nothing more than a bourgeois-democratic phrase, on to which this formula has been sewn. Whilst our own reason tells that these two parts cannot be harmonised.

You denounce violence! Very well. We ourselves detest it more than anybody else could ever do, indeed, is there one human being worthy of the name who does not detest violence for the sake of violence? You desire that the revolution should take place without any catastrophic acts? Very well. We should prefer, however, to have a rather more exact idea of the process, as a result of which the "Workshop will substitute the government." In all sincerity and frankness I appeal to Jouhaux to express himself more definitely upon this question which up to the present he has left somewhat in the shade.

There is no disgreement, of course, between us as to the aims towards which we strive.

The idea of constructing society exclusively upon production belongs to Karl Marx. Nowadays Lenin is the interpreter of this idea. In order to convince one's self of this it is sufficient to read the speech made by him in Moscow at the opening of the Supreme Council of National Economy. These two men, however, unquestionably stand on a much higher level than Prudhomme. . . and Jouhaux, the first because of his scientific discovery of the conditions of proletarian victory, the second, because he was able to determine the moment of the practical realisation of socialism.

Karl Marx, in demonstrating with so much genius the development of capitalism, which leads to revolution (real revolution) and to proletarian dictatorship, established in advance the contents of one entire page of the History of Humanity, and his predictions have been confirmed by events.

The secretary of our Confédération Générale du Travail, for the purpose of developing the idea which was too briefly expounded by him at the last meeting of the National Committee, should have written another page proving that the page written by Marx no long corresponds to facts.

He should have disclosed to us in what manner attempts at the collaboration of classes undertaken for the purpose of ameliorating the lot of the working class, and which so far have always been painfully successful, will be crowned with success in the future, in a way that this class will find in them the means to its complete liberation.

In what manner the proletariat, by compelling the bourgeoisie to ever new concessions, will convert the capitalist constitution into such a constitution, in which all social classes and state will disppear?

How he imagines the conversion of capitalist democracy and all the organs of its domination—economic, constitutional courts, organs of the press, into organs of the domination of a victorious proletariat will take place?

Finally, let us admit that all this is possible. In what period, however, at least approximately will this enchanting, idyllic metamorphosis take place, that is to say in a way in which the participants themselves will be able to see that they really made a revolution?

To these questions an answer must be given, otherwise it will be a confession of the fact that persons who assert that they deal with facts, whilst we stand and gape at the clouds, and who constantly accuse us of a low demagogy, are themselves unable to distinguish the truth and to raise themselves to a right understanding of the fate of the proletariat.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

A Letter from America.

You asked me to write for the readers of THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL of the state of affairs in America, and I gladly fulfill that request.

The labour movement in the United States—industrial as well as political—is now passing through its most critical stage of development. The masses of the workers have already begun to realise that their old forms of organisation are out of date, and that it is necessary to apply new fighting methods in the bitter struggle against capitalism, if the working class wishes to come out victorious and secure its liberation. The rank and file of the American Federation of Labour (which for many years has been led by Samuel Gompers, who is still president of the Federation) are coming to the conclusion that the root principles of this organisation are not only useless, so far as the working class is concerned, but positively harmful from the standpoint of its economic interests.

With the foundation of The Industrial Workers of the World, usually referred to as the I. W. W., in 1905, the workers felt for the first time the possibility of obtaining true economic liberty. The propagation of the I. W. W. principle, that the capitalist rule and the working class have no common interests has opened the eyes of the workers and made them see that the old motto of the A. F. of L. (the American Federation of Labour), "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work," must be exchanged for a new one: "The abolition of the wage system with all its attendant evils." Now, after fifteen years of agitation by the I. W. W., a new spirit has started to develop in the midst of the A. F. of L., the spirit of hostility to the principles and leaders of that organisation, causing dissension among the leaders of both parties, whose principles can never be reconciled.

The American Federation of Labour of January 1, 1919, according to official statistics of that organisation, had 3,250,000 members, whereas the I. W. W. counted at the same time some 125,000 members, mostly unskilled workers. We find the most evidence of the fighting spirit and the relation of each of these two organisations to the needs, wishes and hopes of the working class in the following circumstances: After America joined the war leaders of the I. W. W. (100 men) were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and the leaders of the A. F. of L. were welcome guests at all the public dinners given by the American government and the uncrowned kings of capital.

In order to judge of the further development of the I. W. W., it is sufficient to say, that at the moment of the arrest of the leaders of the organisation, consisting of only 7,000 members, after their arrest and up to now, their number has increased to 125,000, and new members are constantly being recruited.

A large number of local sections of the A. F. of L. are beginning to demand with increased insistance the reconstruction of the organisation on a revolutionary industrial basis.

This change in the attitude of the masses, which is being revealed in purely industrial matters, is also shown in political matters, in the change of tactics of the Socialist Party. The American Socialist Party, which formerly treated the various trade union organisations with indifference, is now compelled to approve and recognise the revolutionary principle of the industrial organisation of the unions.

This recognition is in no way due to the innermost conviction of the leaders of the Socialist Party; it was primarily dictated by the instinct of self-preservation.

The American participation in the war has greatly contributed to the break up of old groupings, which existed in the trade union and the political labour movement. In all the organisations there was a bitter struggle for and against the war. The question became the most important topic of the day. The discussion arising from that revealed differences of opinion, and brought light and clearness in the labour movement and has as its effect a new and more accurate combination of forces, which joined the two opposite camps.

The Socialist Party, at its specially convened conference, emphatically declared against the war, branding it as the greatest crime in the history of mankind, and decided to call the workers together to a mass demonstration against the war; such mass demonstrations were attempted only in a few isolated districts, and as a result a great number of workers were thrown into prison, while the leaders, having declared war on war quietly returned home after the conference and continued their daily affairs without undertaking anything at all to organise the workers and to give effect to the resolution of the conference.

The American Federation of Labour, as represented by its leaders (Sam Gompers & Co.), has unhesitatingly joined the government and declared the war to be "the crusade for the defense of liberty." In the interests of truth I must state that not all the rank and file of the A. F. of L. followed the leaders, but the voices of the revolutonary minority were drowned by the beat of the drum and the improved methods of violence used by the leaders of the Federation. As a result, workers were mobilised both for war at the front and work at the factories.

The I. W. W., on its part, well understanding the true object of the war, did not waste time on high-flown phrases, but started to create class organisations of workers, proclaiming class war and attempting to strengthen the revolutionary discipline in the proletarian ranks. This organisation thus become the most dangerous for the government and capitalism, and therefore attracted to itself the whole weight of persecution. Its general headquarters was demolished by the hired thugs of the government and its leaders put into prison without trial or investigation. But as soon as these were placed under lock and key new leaders at once came out from the labour mass—men and women—who did their responsible work as skilfully as was previously done by the arrested comrades, and, as I said before, the organisation continued to develop and its numbers to grow day by day.

When the October Revolution broke out in Russia the workers were faced with the question, whom they should follow? Now

the question came before them in the following shape: Will they recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition period from capitalism to socialism? The immediate followers of Samuel Gompers in the A. F. of L., and he himself declared that the Russian Revolution is the seizure of power by the minority, that bolshevism destroys democracy (though Mr. Gompers was careful not to mention what he understands by democracy, unless it be the famous principle, "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work). Such attitude to the proletarian revolution made Gompers very popular among the "best" citizens of the country—bankers, profiteers and all sorts of exploiters The condemnation of the new Russian Republic, uttered by such men as Gompers, found a favourable echo in the masses for nearly a whole year, but then the rank and file of the A. F. of L. understood that there is a serious attempt being made in Russia to establish a government in the interests of the labour class.

Some local unions put forward the demand to the government: "Hands off Russia!" This demand was taken up by many other labour unions forming part of the A. F. of L., not that their members had any clear conception of Soviet Russia, but simply because they have proclaimed several years ago in their local organisation the right of all nations to dispose of themselves, and they though that principle should ont be applied to Russia. The leaders of the A. F. of L., having taken into account the attitude of the rank and file of the Federation, followed the masses and declared timidly enough that in their opinion the government must leave Russia to decide her own destiny.

The I. W.-W. was the only labour organisation in the United States which from the very first day of the revolution clearly realised the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia; this organisation, immediately after the October Revolution, started an active class agitation against war. Its object was, first, to prevent Soviet Russia from being crushed, and, second, to organise the American workers for the overthrow of capitalism in the United States.

It is, however, necessary to add that the whole Socialist Party, with the exception of a few leaders, was also energetically championing the interests of Soviet Russia, and that some lesser political organisations were taking part in this movement, such as the Socialist Labour Party, the League of Socialist Propaganda, etc.

It would seem that such unanimous opposition offered by the industrial and political labour organisations to the interference in the affairs of Soviet Russia should once for all have put an end to this interference, at any rate on the part of the United States. Indeed, I feel sure that partly owing to that fact the shipping of American troops to Russia has been stopped. But on the other hand in spite of all these protests the American government still continues to lend its economic support to the enemies of Soviet Russia, who are fighting against her. To put an end to such intervention as well, new mass demonstrations are required in the shape of strikes, etc. These demonstrations can be expected in the near future.

The dissensions in the ranks of the Socialist Party, which assumed a definite and concrete form, when the United States joined the world war, attained their climax when the Third International was founded in Moscow in March, 1919. The local organisations of the party started one by one to pass resolutions in favour of the recognition of the Third International and the Bolshevik programme. This, of course, went against the programme of the party and meant a condemnation of the Second International, to which the party was officially affiliated. As the party opposition, which was called the "left wing," was constantly growing, some organisations proposed to the Central Executive Committee to call a party conference for the revision of the programme and the adoption of new tactics. The central organs of the party promised to call that conference in August (this has been done), but before opening of the conference—fearing no doubt that the "left wing" would capture the organisations—they excluded from the party the All Russian Federation and the Hungarian, Italian, Lettish and many other sections, so that by the last of June some 30,000 members found themselves excluded. This arbitrary measure on the part of the central organ bound the revolutionary elements by still closer ties and established closer unity in their political and industrial activity. Many of the members of the I.W.W., who previously had been treating the so-called political activity with contempt, understood now, by the example of the Russian revolution and the new forms of revolutionary activity introduced by it, which caused a split in the Second International, that the field of political activity is not limited after all to a mere registering of votes at elections.

Many realised that to attain victory in the fight for the economic liberation of labour, workers must combine revolutionary political activity with the revolutionary industrial action.

After the exclusion of the revolutionary element from the Socialist Party the necessity was felt for founding a new political party which should united all the fighting revolutionary forces, and in June the American Communist Party was created, which joined the Third International. Since then the party succeeded in making great strides both as regards the acquisition of new members, the strengthening of the organisation and the spread of revolutionary propaganda. When America joined in the war she was economically and politically preparing herself for a two years' campaign; new works were being constructed, the coal and iron mines were being worked with greater intensity, etc. Productivity was growing with incredible rapidity. The watchword was proclaimed: "America must not only save the world from the menace of German militarism but she must at the same time feed and clothe the greater part of the world."

American capitalists saw their opportunity to make huge profits. It was, therefore, decided to accelerate the work and to increase the output so as to be able to satisfy any demand. Needless to say, workers were assured that this was necessary in the interests of humanity. Industry was thriving and the country was turned into a beehive. Workers were persuaded not to strike, as the country was in danger. Penal laws were introduced; socialist and labour papers were suppressed, convinced enemies of the war were brought before the courts and sentenced to many years of imprisonment, hundreds of the best fighters for the labour cause were placed behind the prison bars, only because they desired to raise their voices against capitalism and the devastating war caused by it. Thus W. D. Haywood, the chief secretary of the I. W. W., is languishing in prison serving his twenty years' sentence, and Eugene Debs, an old fighter and member of the Socialist Party, who was sentenced to ten years. America has resolutely started a campaign having for its object "to secure the world for democracy" (such are the words of President Wilson). Four million men were mobilised, of which 1,000,000 were sent to Europe; America, like a watchman, is guarding the "interests of humanity." Then revolution broke out in Russia; Russian revolutionists have by means of their propaganda succeeded in demoralising the German army (in the meantime President Wilson published his "Fourteen Points") The German government appealed for an armistice. The Kaiser abdicated, and peace has dawned at last.

American capitalists have not fulfilled many of the war contracts; now there is no hurry in their execution, as there is no certainty with regard to the sale of manufactured goods. As a result there was wholesale closing of mines and works, and the impossibility for the demobilised soldiers to find work. At the present time there are 4,000,000 or more unemployed in America. Such is the reward of America for "saving the world." The capitalist class is richer, 100,000 were killed in the war, 200,000 more are mutilated, thousands died of sickness, several thousands are imprisoned, and 4,000,000 lost their employment.

Then a peace conference came together in Paris, consisting of five wizards—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando and Makino—who were sitting behind closed shutters and locked doors, calculating the expenses and dividing the spoils. In the first of the "Fourteen Points" of Wilson this was called "an open agreement at an open conference."

Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia were granted autonomy on conditions that they should help to destroy Soviet Russia. English, French and American soldiers were sent to help them in smothering the young labour republic. Wilson, in one of his high-flown declarations, declared that "they (probably the Allies, as far as I understand) have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia," but on the very day when he was uttering these words the soldiers of the American army, of which he is the commander-in-chief, were carrying out their criminal and dastardly attack on the soldiers of the Russian Soviet Republic. Finally even in America protests were raised more and more against the sending of troops to Russia, on which the United States never declared war. The President and the War Secretary gave the promise that troops would be recalled, but several months passed before that promise was fulfilled.

And now demobilised soldiers in the United States, as well as their comrades—the unemployed workers, begin to understand what was the purpose of the war and what is capitalism.

All over the country mass meetings are being held, at which the demand is being made for a complete change in the existing order of things. These meetings are often dispersed by the police, but the workers are becoming more insistent in their claim that their voice should be heard; hundreds of strikes took place during this year, councils of soldiers, sailors and workers began to form, the revolutionary propaganda is on the increase, and we may hope that the new Communist Party will succeed in uniting all the workers, members of I. W. W. as well as the revolutionary elements of the A. F. of L. and small political parties, into one solid body for common action against the common enemy—capital, and against the treacherous enemies in the midst of the labour movement.

No one, of course, can be certain what the near future has in store for America, but the active part which is now being played by the revolutionary section of the working class entitles us, I believe, to hope that the day is not far off when American workers will throw over their oppressors and establish their dictatorship.

Russia gave the example to the whole world, and now responsibility for the fate of the Russian Revolution rests not only with Russian workers but with workers of all other countries—for only a world revolution will give to the workers of the world the possibility to face the future with full confidence.

JOHN WALTER.

A Greeting to the Italian, French and German Communists.

The information we get from abroad is extraordinarily meagre. The blockade by the imperialist fiends is thoroughly effective, the most powerful states of the world are attacking us for the purpose of reestablishing the government of the exploiters. This fiendish hate of the capitalists of Russia and of the whole world is concealed naturally enough by high-flown phrases about "democracy." The camp of the exploiters is true to itself; it claims bourgeois democracy to be real "democracy," and all the Philistines, all the petty bourgeois, are following that camp, all of them, including Fridrich Adler, Karl Kautsky, and most of the leaders of the "independent" (independent of the revolutionary proletariat, but dependent on petty bourgeois prejudices) Social Democratic Party of Germany.

But the scarcity of news we get here in Russia from abroad increases the pleasure with which we observe the gigantic universal success of communism among the workers of all countries, who are reaking with the vile and treacherous leaders who from Scheidemann to Kautzky have gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie.

Of the Italian Party we only know that its congress by a large majority has adopted a resolution of adherence to the Third International and the adoption of the programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Italian Socialist Party has thus in fact joined communism, though unfortunately it still preserves its old name. A hearty greeting to the Italian workers and their party.

All we know about France is, that in Paris alone there are already two communist papers, *The International*, edited by Raymond Perique, and *The Forbidden Name*, edited by George Anquetil. A series of proletarian organisations have already joined the Third International. The sympathy of the workers are undoubtedly on the side of the Soviet government.

Of the German communists we only learned that communist periodicals are published in several towns, generally entitled *The Red Flag*. The Berlin *Red Flag* is secretly printed and is heroically fighting the hangmen Scheidemann and Noske, who serve the bourgeoisie by the deed just as the independants serve them by their words and their propaganda based on petty bourgeois ideals.

We are highly delighted with the heroic struggle of the Berlin communist paper, *The Red Flag*.

At last we have discovered honest and sincre socialists in Germany, who remain firm and unflinching in spite of all the persecutions, in spite of the foul murder of its best leaders. At last we see Communist workers in Germany waging a heroic struggle, which can be indeed called "revolutionary." At last a force has grown up from the proletarian soil, a force which recognises the *true meaning* of the "proletarian revolution."

Greetings to the German communists!

Men like Scheidemann and Kautzky, Renner and Fridrich Adler, however much they may differ in the sense of personal honesty, have all alike proved themselves to be petty bourgeois, shameless traitors, betrayers of socialism, supporters of the bourgeoisie—for all of them drew up and signed the Basle Manifesto of 1912 about the coming imperialist war, all at that time spoke of the "Proletarian Revolution," and all proved themselves in fact to be petty bourgeois democrats, champions of a lower middle class republic and bourgeois democratic illusions, supporters of the counter revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Savage persecutions, which fell on the heads of the German communists, had only the effect of strengthening their determination. If at the present time they are to a certain extent scattered, only proves the breadth and mass character of their movement the growth of communism on the foundation of labour. This scattering was inevitable at a time when the movement is being so savagely persecuted by the counter revolutionary bourgeois and their servants—Scheidemann and Noske—and is compelled to organise itself secretly.

It is only natural that a movement growing so rapidly, suffering such desperate persecutions, developes rather sharp divisions of opinion. We need not be afraid of it. These are only growing pains.

Let Scheidemann and Kautzky triumph in their papers, *Vorwarts* and *Freiheit*, on account of the differences that exist among the communists. These heroes of the putrid petty bourgeois class can find nothing better to do than conceal their rottenness by inuendoes in regard to communists. But if we look at the essence of things, only the blind can now ignore the truth. The truth of the matter is that the followers of Scheidemann and Kautzky have in a most shameful manner *sold* the proletarian revolution in Germany, *betrayed* it and in fact proved themselves to be on the side of the counter revolutionary bourgeoisie. Henry Lautenburg in his excellent pamphlet, "Between the First and Second Revolutions," has proved this with a remarkable force, clearness and conviction. The dissensions which exist in the camps of Scheidemann and Kautzky are dissension of dying, decomposing parties where masses are left without the leaders and generally without an army. The masses are leaving Scheidemann and his followers and are going over to Kautzky and his followers on account of their presumably extreme ideas (this can be seen in the reports of all the meetings). This left wing unites the old unprincipled cowardly prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie concerning parliamentary democracy with a communist recognition of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet government.

The leaders of the Independents are forced by the masses to recognise all that, but in fact they remain petty bourgeois democrats, "socialists" of the type of Louis Blanc and other fools of 1848, who were so pittilessly ridiculed and branded by Marx.

All these differences are indeed irreconcillible. Between the lower middle class, who like the middle middle class of 1848 are praying for the advent of a bourgeois "democracy," without understanding its bourgeois character, and the proletarian revolutionaries, there can be no peace. They cannot work together. Haase and Kautzky, Fridrich Adler and Otto Bauer can do what they like, they can pile up mountains of paper, deliver intermin-

able speeches—they will never explain away the fact that they are incapable of understanding the nature of the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet government, that they are in fact lower middle class democrats, "socialists" of the type of Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin, that really they are at best puppets in the hands of the bourgeoisie, at the worst its direct agents.

The Independents, the followers of Kautzky, the Austrian social democrats apparently form one party; as a matter of fact the mass of their party members are not at one with the leaders on the essential question. The masses will enter a proletarian revolutionary struggle for the Soviet government when the time is ripe, and the leaders will remain then as now counter revolutionaries. It is easy to manipulate words so as to manœuvre between the two sides, and Hilferding in Germany and Fridrich Adler in Austria give us excellent specimens of that noble art.

But in the midst of a revolutionary struggle the task of reconcilling the irreconcillible will burst like a soap bubble. We see instances of that in the "socialist" heroes of 1848, in their spiritual brothers—the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries in Russia of 1917-1919. The same is shown by the knights of the Berne, or the yellow Second International.

The differences among the communists are of a different kind. Only he who does not wish to see, fails to note the fundamental difference. These differences exist among representatives of a mass movement which has grown up with incredible rapidity. These differences do not touch the common basis, which is as firm as a rock. The basis is the recognition of the proletarian revolution, the struggle against bourgeois democratic illusions and bourgeois democratic parliamentarism, the recognition of the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet government.

On such a basis we need fear no differences of opinion; these are growing pains, the whining of decrepid old age. Differences even existed among the Bolsheviks; differences which even led to splits, but at a decisive moment, at the moment of the conquest of power and the creation of the Soviet Republic, Bolshevism proved united, it attracted to itself all that is best in the kindred tendencies of socialist thought, it gathered together the whole vanguard of the proletariat and the overwhelming majority of workers.

The same will happen to the German communists.

Followers of Scheidemann and Kautzky are still talking of "democracy" in general, they still live in the world of ideas of 1848, they profess to be Marxians, though by their deeds they prove themselves to be followers of Louis Blanc. They talk about the "majority" fondly imagining that the equality in the voting strength means equality of the exploited and the exploiter, of worker and capitalist, of the poor and the rich, of the hungry and the well fed.

Scheidemann's and Kautzky's followers imagine that the world is governed by good-natured, honest, noble, peaceful capitalists who have never made use of wealth, money, the power of capital, the yoke of bureauacracy, the military dictatorship, but who decide all affairs according to the wishes of the "majority."

Followers of Scheidemann and Kautzky (partly through hypocrisy, partly owing to their dense stupidity, bred by ten years of reformism) are reviving bourgeois democracy, bourgeois parliamentarism, bourgeoisie republic, by declaring that the capitalists decide affairs of state according to the wishes of the majority and not by the will of capital, by means of deceit, oppression and violence, applied by the rich to the poor.

Followers of Scheidemann and Kautzky are prepared to "recognise" the proletarian revolution, but in such a manner as to secure beforehand (though preserving the power, oppression and privileges of capital and wealth) the voting by the majority (though the bourgeois machinery of state power will organise elections) "for revolution." It is difficult to fathom the abyss of the petty bourgeois idiocy, which is revealed by that conception—the immense confidence which the petty bourgeois elements place in the bourgeoisie, the generals, the whole bourgeois apparatus of state government.

It is precisely the bourgeoisie which always played the hypocrite formal equality, but boasting of their democracy, taking advantage of the poor, the workers, petty peasants and labourers by means of innumerable instances of deceit, oppression, etc. The imperialists war (shamefully glorified by Scheidemann, Kautzky & Co.) has revealed it to millions of men. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the *only* means of protecting the workers from the yoke of capital, the violence of military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and imperialist wars. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only step towards real equality and democracy, not on paper but in real life, not as a political phrase but as an economic reality.

Scheidemann, Kautzky & Co. have failed to understand that and became contemptible traitors to socialism and champions of bourgeois ideals.

* * *

The party of Kautzky, or the Independent Party, is dying, and will inevitably breathe its last very soon and fall to pieces, owing to the differences between its revolutionary members, which form its bulk, and its counter revolutionary "leaders."

The Communist Party will be consolidated and tempered by experience, by living through the differences which will be essentially the same as those which bolshevism had to live through.

The dissensions between the German communists can be reduced so far as I can judge, to the question of "utilising legal possibilities" (as was said by the Bolsheviks in 1910-1913), of utilising the bourgeois parliament, the reactionary trade unions, mutilated by Scheidemann, Kautzky & Co., of taking part in or boycotting the above-mentioned and similar institutions. We, Russian Bolsheviks, experienced precisely similar differences of opinion in 1906 and in 1910-1912. We see clearly that many young German communists are simply lacking in revolutionary experience. Had they lived through a couple of bourgeois revolutions (1905 and 1917) they would not be so keen on preaching boycotting, they would not so easily fall victims to the errors of syndicalism.

These differences are growing pains. They will pass with the growth of the movement, which is growing up excellently. We must fight openly these obvious mistakes and not to exaggerate the differences, for every one must see that in the near future the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat for the Soviet government will remove most of these dissensions.

Both from the point of view of the Marxist theories and from the experiences of the three revolutions (1905, Feburary, 1917; October, 1917,) I consider the refusal to participate in a bourgeois parliament in a reactionary trade union (led by Leguine, Gompers, etc.), in the most reactionary workers "soviet," mutilated by the followers of Scheidemann, to be absolutely erroneous. In some isolated cases, in certain countries boycott is quite justified, as for instance the bolshevik boycott of the Tzarist Duma in 1904. But the same bolsheviks took part in a far more reactionary and openly counter revolutionary Duma in 1907. The bolsheviks took part in the elections to the bourgeois Constitutent Assembly of 1917 and in 1918 we have dispersed it to the horror of the lower middle class democrats, Kautzky and the other renegades of socialism. We took part in the most reactionary trade unions, purely menshevik, no less counter revolutionary than those of Legien and the vilest and most reactionary trade unions of Germany.

Even now, two years after coming into power, we have not yet finished the fight with the remainder of the menshevik trade unions (that is, consisting of followers of Scheidemann, Kautzky, Gompers, etc.), for this is a very protracted process. Such is the influence of petty bourgeois ideas to certain localities or in individual trades.

Formerly we formed a minority in the Soviets, a minority in trade unions and in the cooperative societies. By dint of long labour and a long struggle—both *before* and *after* we came into power—we acquired a majority in all the labour organisations, later in non-labour, and still later in small peasant organisations.

Only fools or knaves can imagine that the proletariat must first acquire a majority when voting takes place under the *yoke of the bourgeoisie*, under the *yoke of wage slavery*, and only afterwards should assume the power. This is the height of idiocy and hypocrisy, it is the substitution of voting under the old regime and the old government for the class war and the revolution.

The proletariat in waging the class war without taking a vote of the population before he declares a strike—though for a complete success of the strike the sympathy of the majority of the workers (and consequently of the population) is necessary.

The proletariat in waging the class war, overthrows the bourgeoisie without waiting for any preliminary voting (organised by and under the influence of the bourgeoisie), yet the proletariat knows full well that for the success of its revolution, for the successful removal of the power of the bourgeoisie, the sympathy of the majority of the workers (and consequently of the majority of the population) is *absolutely necessary*.

Parliamentary fools and modern Louis Blancs "demand" the counting of votes to be undertaken by the bourgeoisie, to ascertain whether the majority of the workers is in favour of revolution. But such a view can only be taken by pedants, the politically dead and the clever rogues.

New life, the history of actual revolution shows that the "sympathy of the majority" very often cannot be ascertained by any counting of votes. (Not to mention such, as is organised by the exploiter and the exploited). Very often the sympathy of the majority of workers is best proved not by votes but by the growth of one of the parties or by the growth of the number of its members in the Soviets or by the success of a single strike, which for some reason has acquired an immense importance, or by success in civil war, etc.

The history of our revolution has proved for instance the sympathy shown for the dictatorship of the proletariat on the part of the majority of workers in the boundless territories of the Urals and Siberia. It was shown not by votes but by the experience of a year's rule of General Koltchak over Ural and Siberia. The sway of Koltchak began with a "coalition" government of the followers of Scheidemann and Kautzky (in Russia—the "Mensheviks" and the "Socialist Revolutionaries," the supporters of the Constitutent Assembly) just as, in Germany of to-day Messrs. Haase and Scheidemann by their coalition are paving the way for the rule of Von der Goltz and Ludendorf. In parenthesis, I may state, the coalition of Haase and Scheidemann in the government is at an end, but the political coalition of these betrayers of socialism still remains. The proof is the books by Kautzky, articles by followers of Kautzky and Scheidemann about their "unions," etc.

Proletarian revolution is impossible without the sympathy and support of the overwhelming majority of workers to their vanguard—the proletariat. But this sympathy, this support is not granted at once, this support is not given by votes, but is conquered by a long, difficult, painful class war. The class struggle of the proletariat *to gain sympathy*, to gain the support of the majority of workers is not terminated by the conquest of political power for the proletariat. *After* the conquest of power this struggle goes on, but it assumes a different form. In the Russian Revolution circumstances were exceptionally favourable to the proletariat (in its fight for the dictatorship), for the proletarian occurred when the whole nation was in arms and when the whole peasantry was indignant at the "Kautzkyan" policy of the social traitors, the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries.

But even in Russia, where at the moment of the proletarian revolution circumstances were exceptionally favourable for it, where the whole proletariat, the whole army, and the whole peasantry at once joined together, even in Russia the struggle of the proletariat to realise its dictatorship, the struggle of the proletariat to gain sympathy and the support of the majority of the workers, took months and years. After two years this struggle is almost over, but it cannot be said that the proletariat is completely victorious. In two years we have only finally gained the sympathy and support of the overwhelming majority of workers and the toiling peasants of Great Russia, including the Ural and Siberia, but have not yet finally gained the confidence and support of the majority of toiling peasants (as distinguished from the exploiting peasants of the Ukraine. The military power of the Entente may crush us (but this will not be), but in the interior of Russia we have now secured such solid support of such an ovewhelming majority of workers that the world has not yet seen a state more democratically organised.

When we conisder the history of the fight of the proletariat for power, a history which is at once complicated, difficult, long, rich in extraordinary varieties of forms, in the uncommon frequency of sudden changes, crises, transitions from one method of struggle to another—we shall then clearly perceive the error of those who wish to "forbid" any participation in a bourgeois parliament, in reactionary trade unions, in Tzarist or Scheidemann labour councils, or factory committees, etc. This error is caused by the revolutionary inexperience of the most sincere convinced heroic revolutionaries from the labour class. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were most certainly in the right when in 1919 they detected that error, pointed it out, but preferred to remain together with the erring—though on a question of secondary importance—proletarian revolutionaries, rather than join the betrayers of socialism, the followers of Scheideman and Kautzky, who were not mistaken on the question of participation in a bourgeois parliament, but ceased to be socialists and became lower middle class democrats, supporters of the bourgeoisie.

But an error remains an error, it must be criticised and we must strive to rectify it.

The fight against the betrayers of socialism, the followers of Scheidemann and Kautzky, must be relentless, but it must not turn on the point of taking or not taking part in bourgeois parliaments, in reactionary trade unions, etc. This would be an undoubted mistake and it would be an even greater offense against the ideas of Marxism and its practical policy (a strong, centralised, political party) and a leap towards the ideas and practise of syndicalism. We must see to it that the party participates in the bourgeois parliaments, in the reactionary trade unions, in the "factory committees," cut down in their rights according to the Scheidemann prescription. The proletariat should take an active part wherever there are working men, where we can speak to workingmen and influence the working masses. We must at all costs combine the work done openly with the work done underground, and systematically and relentlessly control in the strictest possible way the open activities by the secret party and labour organisations.

This difficult tasks must be performed at all costs. We differ from the followers of Scheidmann and Kautzky not only (and not even principally) in that they do not recognise an armed rising, whereas we do. The chief fundamental difference consists in that they—in all the fields of their activity (in bourgeois parliaments, in trade unions, in cooperative societies, in the press, etc.)—are following an inconsistent, opportunist or even perfidious policy.

A fight against the social traitors, against reformism and opportunism—this is our political duty which we must perform in *all* the fields without exception. Then we shall conquer the labour masses. And with the working masses at its back the vanguard of the proletariat, the Marxian centralised political

fact is that the small nations which we set about saving by supplying them with the ammunition to fight the Bolsheviks are financed by us: further, in addition to the sanitary cordon that was at first proposed we have now created a northwestern Russian "democracy" which consists of Letts, Lithuanians, Esthonians, Poles and, apparently also a certain number of Germans—all of them we arm, feed and supply with everything necessary."

The ethical side of the question of intervention is likewise one of interest to English democrats. The same A. Harrison writes further:

"These newly discovered nations—Letts, Lithuanians and Esthonians—demand their own independence as a reward for the part they have taken in the struggle against the Bolsheviks, but neither Denikin, whom we support, nor any other Russian imperialists or generals, are desirous of listening to such claims to independence. In this manner, we deceive (1) the nations whom we finance, (2) the Russians whom we support financially in the south, (3) the Cossacks, who think that we wish to restore Great Russia, (4) our own nation, which under the influence of false stories about the brutalities of the Bolsheviks, believes that this holy campaign serves some kind of high purpose, the achievement of which is in some manner necessary for the success of a struggle carried on for the freedom of humanity?"

In one of its leading articles *The Daily Herald* states: "Other powers have gradually ceased military operations against Russia. England alone continues to exert all its efforts not only to annihilate Russian soldiers in open battle by supporting Koltchak, Denikin and Yudenich with arms, supplies, cannons and tanks, not only by expending millions of pounds sterling and fighting on land and sea, but also starves women and innocent children to death by means of the blockade. There has never been a more cowardly and monstrous crime in the whole history of humanity which has been more diabolically conceived and put into execution with more shameless falsehood. If English workers reconcile themselves with this they must also share the responsibility. We are informed that the Bolsheviks have committed brutalities. It is possible. But the brutalities committed by Mannerheim, Denikin and Koltchak also cry aloud to heaven. To support these gentlemen on the grounds that the Bolsheviks commit brutalities is hypocrisy which borders on madness." In another article the newspaper writes: ". . . We compel Bolsheviks taken prisoners to enter the White Army and to fight against the Bolsheviks, thus manifestly infringing upon the customs of war, and this ends in their revolting and in murdering their English officers. We are told about the murder of English officers. Yes, but the real murderer of these officers is our own government. All this war in North Russia is one whole murder, and it is our government that is at fault . . . Yes, this is what the policy of our government comes to! Imperialism, struggle against socialism, war, murder, and lies Is it possible that the workers will patiently support all this?"

These calls, constantly repeated to the workers, prove that the radicals are well aware that the only united force in society capable of putting an end to intervention and to imperialism in general is the working class. What is more, they do not even shut their eyes to the fact that the means to this end must be mass action, "direct action" of the proletariat.

In an article devoted to the Trade Union Congress forthcoming at that time and the question of "direct action." *The Daily Herald* wrote: ". . . The opponents of direct action are unquestionably sincere. They are joined by the most respected leaders of the labor movement. It would not even enter our heads to suspect the purity of their motives. But we permit ourselves to put just one question to them: Let us admit that on the most important question—that of nationalisation, of the organisations of the means of production and distribution, of the cessation of foreign wars—complete unanimity is achieved amongst all sections of the labour movement, let us admit further that the present government proves to be a firm opponent—there can be no doubt about it—of all solutions taken upon this question—in what manner would you put these solutions into effect without recourse to direct action?"

Whilst appealing to the workers to take mass action, the English bourgeois democrats are in no way desirous of having a socialist revolution. They desire merely to compel the government to renounce intervention, to compel it to appoint new elections to Parliament. They are in hopes that this Parliament will give the country a new "truly democratic" government which will —and so on. In a word, they are soaked through and through with bourgeois illusions but at times it apparently becomes clear to them as well that democracy carried to its logical conclusion leads inevitably to communism. One of the most energetic Parliamentary opponents of intervention, "the most independent man in Parliament," as the newspapers call him, Colonel John Wedgwood, upon his speech being interrupted by the question why he did not join the Bolsheviks since he was so fond of them, answered coolly: "If things come to a class war I shall be on their side"

Amongst the masses of the workers the movement of protest against intervention started a long while ago, but in order to follow the development of this movement, it is necessary to distinguish between two phases of it: First, the principle underlying the attitude towards intervention, and second, its tactical relations towards it; that is, the question of the means of struggling against the government's intervention policy

From a point of view of condemning the military intervention in Russian affairs, on principle the English workers evince complete unanimity. Even such a moderate trade unionist as Stewart Benning stated in his presidential speech on opening the Trade Union Congress at Glasgow on the 9th of September: "I hoped, like all of you, that peace would be reigning everywhere by the time our Congress took place. Unfortunately, these have not proved to be true, and what is worse, we are entangled into a new war against Russia. Amongst the workers of England this war is unpopular to the highest degree, on more than one occasion the workers have already given expression to their feelings on this subject, and if the government continues to refuse to give this matter attention it will run the risk of things taking an extremely serious turn."

From the point of view of tactics the question stands somewhat differently.

The question of struggle against intervention, as already stated in No. 5 of our magazine (see page 758, "England,") was, together with the question of direct action, put to the vote of all the members of the trade unions and workers' organisations. Direct action, the adoption of strikes as a means of political struggle, is at the present moment the fundamental question of the whole labour movement in England.

Recognition of this means of struggle will mean a radical split of the movement the transition of the working class from a bourgeois liberal policy to one of revolutionary class struggle. The English social traitors are well aware of this. Comrade A. M., the author of the above-mentioned notes, published in No. 5 of our magazine, expressed the fear that these "old leaders" would "spoil the strike by converting it into a one day demonstration." These fears turned out to be to a great extent truer than Comrade A. M. expected. First, the social traitors spoiled the voting itself upon the struggle against intervention and a general strike by inducing the central committees of the Triple Alliance to put a stop to the voting and to defer it until after the Glasgow Trade Union Congress. Later on, both prior to the congress and at the congress itself they, particularly Henderson, Thomas and Clynes, conducted an energetic agitation against "the adoption of an economic means of struggle for the achievement of purely political aims" and, finally, at the congress, Thomas Shaw, the textile workers' delegation, brought forward a resolution condemning political strikes. The resolution was rejected by a majority of 2,250 votes against 2,036. However, no resolution of an opposite nature was accepted by the congress. An indirect recognition of the principle of direct action was the fact that the report of the Parliamentary Committee was not accepted. Two thousand five hundred votes were given against accepting the report while 1,100 were cast in favour. The congress accepted the following resolution on the Russian question:

"Taking into consideration the general wishes of the whole country and the reiterated statements of the government prior and during the last elections—statements which were repeated later on, on the 22d of May, by the representatives of the government, Bonar Law, on receiving the delegation from the Parliamentary Committee of Trade Unions Congress, the congress instructs the Priliamentary Committee to demand from the government the abolition of compulsory military service and the immediate withdrawal of English soldiers from Russia. If the government does not fulfill this a special trade union congress must be convened without delay to decide upon the necessary course of action."

In this manner the social traitors were successful in deferring the formal recognition of the necessity of adopting revolutionary means in the struggle against intervention.

The debates which took place at the congress at Glasgow, however, have shown quite definitely that the majority of the representatives of the organised English workers at present are

derstand quite clearly that the fate of the workers-peasants' power in Russia is closely allied with the fate of the proletariat of the whole world, and for this reason there can be no doubt that the English proletariat will not permit Soviet Russia to be strangled by the imperialists of the Entente. U.

Ireland Under the Yoke of the English

The policy of repression adopted by the capitalist government of England in relation to unhappy Ireland can be compared, not without reason, to the methods instituted by autocratic Russia amongst the subjected border provinces. The Committee of Irish Independence published in America not long ago an official report upon the position of affairs on the "Green Isle of Erin." This report, which is compiled by Frank P. Walsh and E. F. Dunn, includes the following facts which speak eloquently of the regime supported by "Democratic England."

During recent months no less than ten citizens have been killed by government agents. The authors of these crimes have not undergone any punishment

Hundreds of persons, men and women, have been in prison for some months without having any idea of what they are accused. . . .

Five persons died in the prisons from blows given them by the prison wardens.

Guarantee of personal liberty has been abolished in Ireland.

Searches are made continually by groups of armed men, during which women and children are often subjected to brutal and inhuman treatment.

The children of persons suspected of republican sympathies are taken away from their parents by force.

Elderly, respectable Irish women are subjected to quite illegal arrest, are banished or else interned with prostitutes.

Property belonging to republicans is plundered and confiscated. Some republicans have been completely ruined

Thousands of families have been reprived of their breadwinners, subjected to arrest or banishment, and compelled to live upon the gratuities of charity societies.

Numerous Irish men and women are imprisoned and banished quite illegally, upon the mere suspicion of sympathy towards the republican movement, whilst their relatives are sometimes deprived for whole months of any news as to their whereabouts.

Details of the regime which reigns in the English prisons are beyond all description. The food is unwholesome and insufficient, the cells are damp and close and the cold in them is such that in winter the walls are covered with a layer of ice. Blows, solitary confinement, sometimes resulting in the prisoners losing their reason, deprivation of food and drink for several days are all common occurrences. . . .

Such are the beauties of the English "order" reigning in Ireland. Punitive expeditions, kidnapping of children, the savage regime imposed in the "royal prisons"—all the horrors of medizevalism are restored in our days by gentlemen who stand at the head of "the most democratic country in the world." It is hardly necessary to say, of course, that these crimes cannot remain unpunished for long. This policy of repression which has been systematically introduced during the course of a number of years has resulted in Ireland having been placed in a state of permanent revolution, and the way out of this position can only be either the abandonment of this policy by the English government—for which there is very little reason to hope—or the armed uprising of the Irish people.

Isolated attempts at armed rebellion organised by the Irish revolutionary nationalists, the Sinn Feiners, show that this uprising is a question of the near future. The disturbances in Derry (10th and 15th of August) and in Ulster, the street fights in Dendalk and Lisborne, the crowd's attack on the barracks at Tebbeny, in our opinion, are all exceedingly symptomatic.

V. S.

Germany

The world war brought capitalism to the verge of ruin. Both in the victorious Entente countries and in the defeated countries the same symptoms of the approaching death of the bourgeois-capitalist system revealed. But nowhere are they to be observed so saliently as in Germany.

The bankruptcy of Germany is inevitable. The state debt has attained a sum of 200 milliards. For the payment of interest on this debt alone 100 milliards per annum are required. The total annual imperial expenditures is equal to 17½ milliards, whilst the total amount of revenues expected is 7.6 milliards, thus leaving a deficit of about 10 milliards. The social traitor government of Ebert is unable to have recourse to any radical measures, either the cancellation of the state debts or the confiscation of private property. His shy hints that it will perhaps become necessary to impose a heavy tax upon large fortunes has already resulted in the patriots of the German Fatherland, after having filled their pockets with profits during the world war, making a rapid exit from their beloved Fatherland and in their taking their fortunes with them. This export of capital which continues in spite of all measures taken to prohibit it, makes the already difficult financial position of the government still worse: First, it in this manner loses its chief object of taxation, and second the increased accumulation of German values abroad still further reduces the exchange value of the German mark. At the beginning of October the value of the mark on the Stockholm Exchange was 16 ore, which makes only one-sixth of its pre-war value. In this respect the German mark shares the fate of the Austrian kroner, the value of which has fallen to such an extent that one brewery in Switzerland has since started to paste Austrian paper kroners on its beer bottles instead of labels. This has not only proved to be a sensational advertisement (the brewery is called "Kroner") but is also an economy effected in expenditure, as the printing of a label costs 10 centimes, whereas the Austrian kroner costs only 7½ centimes.

The decline in the value of money is explained chiefly by the absence of goods. Meanwhile, complete disorganisation continues to reign in industry. The factories are suffering from a lack of raw materials and fuel. German industry requires 90,000,000 tons of coal a year, whilst in the current year Germany will be able to dispose of only 13,000,000 tons.

This catastrophic condition of the industries of the country falls with all its weight on the shoulders of the working class. Unemployment has attained enormous dimensions at the present moment. In Hamburg alone there are more than 60,000 persons out of work, and, according to the calculation of bourgeois political economists the number of unemployed throughout all Germany during the present winter will reach from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000.

During an interview with a correspondent of the Copenhagen *Politiken*, a certain U. West, "a prominent Stuttgart political economist and financial industrialist," characterises the present political position of Germany in the following words: "Our governments are composed of idealists, of persons who have had good training in social questions but who suffer from short-sightedness in all practical questions of political economy. All these leaders have been promising the workers for years past that they will give them everything once they are placed in power. Now after they have obtained power they perceive that their ideal plans are economically unrealisable. Now they are, however, unable to withdraw their promises, whilst the attacks made upon them by the workers because their promises have not been fulfilled become more pronounced every day; in the meantime dissatisfied workers pass over to the side of the Spartacs in ever greater numbers."

Translated into the ordinary language this means that Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske, whose treachery towards the workers is frankly recognised by even bourgeois "financial industrialists," continue to maintain the dictatorship of the bourgeois in a manner that becomes daily more and more obvious, whilst the rupture between the workers and the social traitors becomes more and more pronounced. The workers are taking up their position under the banner of communism "in ever increased numbers."

The correspondent of the Swedish newspaper, *Aftonbladet*, communicates from Berlin by telegraph that on the 2d of October a number of communist demonstrations took place there. Thirty mass meetings were arranged in various parts of the town, but before the meetings took place all the premises that were fixed

for the meetings were dilled by the police. The workers who appeared at the meeting began quietly to return to their homes, but on the Mullerstrasse, in the workers' quarters of North Berlin, the police arrested the president of the meeting and two other workers. Cries of "Hooligans! Murderers!" arose from among the crowd, which was composed of from three to four thousand persons. Attempts were made to release the arrested men. The police opened fire on the crowd. One metal worker was killed and ten persons, including two women, were wounded. This conflict and demonstration lasted the whole day. Troops and even aeroplanes—used for scouting purposes—were brought out in order to subdue the workers.

Scandinavian newspapers communicate further information n connection with a "bolshevist" strike of the metal workers in Berlin, which threatened to convert itself into a general strike. On the 6th of October the number of metal workers on strike reached 45,000, besides which 67,000 workers of other trades were obliged to stop work owing to the strike. "The number of volunteer workers," adds the telegram, "rose to 11,000. They were guarded by police detachments. The leaders of German social democracy not only shoot workers but they also extend their protection to strik-breakers!"

The German bourgeoisie, apparently, is very grateful to the social traitors for the faithful services rendered by them.

Now the representatives of capital, including amongst others, Krupp-Wiedfeld, are going to their assistance is the Ministry. What an honour for Ebert and Noske!

This gang of capitalists and their servants however, feel rather disturbed, in spite of all. According to a correspondent of one of the Swedish newspapers, the Reichstag building, in which the first meeting of the National Assembly took place, had the appearance of a barricaded fortress on the day of the opening of the Assembly. Neither the public nor the diplomatic representatives of other powers ventured to penetrate into this fortress, apparently afraid of finding themselves besieged together with the "national representatives."

German communists continue to work without cessation. We have already spoken above about the mass meetings and strikes which are undoubtedly being led by our German comrades. Besides this, they publish a number of illegal newspapers. During the summer a legal weekly magazine was published, entitled *Die Internationale*, founded by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring. The first issue, as is well known, was confiscated No. 2-3 (double) was published on the 30th of May, No. 4 on the 21st of June. These numbers contained articles by Talheimer Klara Zetkin and Lenin.

France

At the present moment France is apparently undergoing one of those periods of internal unrest that usually precede great crises. The ratification of the peace treaty by Parliament was not carried without sharp criticism from the radical bourgeois parties and the right centre. The late ministers and candidate ministers—both Franklin-Bouillon and Barth—strongly repressed their dissatisfaction and their pessimism in connection with the results of the Versailles Conference. As a matter of fact, the bourgeois Parliament is faced with questions of peace which are not less menacing than the questions of the recently terminated war. The restoration of provinces which have been under the occupation of the enemy, as well as the restoration of industries which have deteriorated as a result of too intense war work. All these require an enormous amount of labour. Unemployment, increased cost of living and the ferment amongst the masses of the workers to a high degree complicated the position of the country, which is menaced by an awful financial crisis. For the present the government is not sparing in its promises.

According to the Minister of Finance, Klotz, Germany will have to pay the Allies the sum of 1,963 millards, besides which France demands that its own modest share of 463 milliards, should be paid first of all. . . . All will be well if only the people will consent to wait patiently until this heavenly manna begins to fall. But will it consent to wait? That is the question.

At present the nationalist bourgeoisie is in power in France. The government of Clemenceau continues to evolve to the right. While the economic and financial position of the country becomes worse and worse every day and at the same time the class struggle becomes inevitably more and more acute. Old Clemenceau (who was at one time the eidtor of the radical-socialist newspaper *L'Aurore*) sings dithyrams to the clergy, bishops and generals, solemnly consecrates relics of Verdun and the government proclaims the forthcoming appointment of a number of Marshals and generals, all violent nationalists and "good" Catholics, to the Senate. In certain bourgeois circles chauvinism has reached such a degree of absurdity that the students of the league "L'Action Francaise," succeeded in obtaining from the Perfect of Police a prohibition of a concert at which Wagner was to be played.

One may state without the least exaggeration that the chief characteristics of French leading circles are reacton and bribery. The numerous treason trials that have taken place during the last half year has been added to by the case of the late editor of *L'Eclaire*, Judet. Judet enjoyed great popularity amongst the most ultra-patriotc ministries and belonged to those who demanded continuation of the world war at all costs. He is now accused of having allowed himself to be "tainted" with German gold.

This mad rule of the bourgeoisie has also its good sides: it opens the eyes of the workers and the oppressed much more so than any other regime would have done, and it makes them prepare for the fight. The labour movement in France at the present moment is chacterised by ceaseless strike agitation, and the successes of the revolutionary elements against the moderate elements is symptomatic. The tendency towards the left in the United Socialist Party becomes more and more pronounced and now and again assumes forms which are very disagreeable to the former party leaders. The Federation of the Seine has decided not to put forward Degant and Rosier, who have excelled in chauvinism, at the forthcoming elections. The Thirteenth Section decided to exclude from the party the deputy, Navarre, who vainly assured them of his deep repentence. . . . A similar fate awaits a number of other social patriots. Those whose representatives these gentlemen claimed themselves to be, desire to have nothing more to do with such representatives. The French proletariat is at last beginning to remove the political renegades, bourgeois socialists and seekers after soft government jobs. All these gentlemen—Andre Lebier, Compere-Morel, Hubert Rouge, Bedousse, Elan-Prevost, Oriol, Vyollot, etc., have been turned down or will be turned down by the socialist electors even before the elections have taken place. The question of excluding Albert Thomas from the party was put to the discussion at the Congress of the Federation of the Seine, and, although a formal resolution for his exclusion was not taken, owing to the fact that the hesitating elements of the centre on this occasion refused to take any decisive steps, nevertheless, the late ministers, in the eye of those for whom socialism is not an empty word has long ceased to be a member of the party. The reception he receives at mass meetings leaves no doubt about this.

The bourgeoise trade union officials are also in the same position. Joyhaux slight success at the congress pales into insignificance in comparison with what is going on at present in the labour movement. The strike of the dockers at Marseilles, the strike of the theatre workers in Paris, strike of the plumbers in the suburbs of Paris, the strike of the transport and railway works in Alsace, the stubborn strike agitation in almost all branches of industry, this is a summary of the events during the last two months. Even the cautious *Figaro* demands a revision of the right to strike and the prohibition of the right to strike to officials. . . . In answer to the strike of the theatre-workers, the proprietors of the cinematographs and cafe proprietors declared a lockout; it is not rare for the bourgeoisie to respond to strikes with still stricter measures. In Compiégne, for instance, on the 3d of August, the local commander-in-chief prohibited a conference of the railway workers, post office clerks and builders. . . . Thus in times of peace and in democratic France! These measures will not, however, prevent the endeavour of the workers to organise themselves. In spite of all the crafty strategems and repressions, the post and telegraph workers have combined into the Post Office Federation, one of the leaders of which is the left socialist, Comrade Thierry, who demands the immediate socialisation of all the large industrial undertakings.

Meanwhile the thinking section of the French people begins to reveal a clearer understanding of revolution. Henri Barbusse, in whom moderate socialism is combined with great civic courage, a few days ago published an eloquent manifesto in *L'Humanite*, entitled "We Accuse!" similar to the famous "I Accuse!" of Zola. In this appeal Barbusse, who places himself definitely on the side of the Russian Revolution, accuses French

reaction of the intention to strangle the Russian Commune. The revolutionary attitude of the intellectual workers of France was very well expressed at the conference of teachers which took place at Tours. The question of the Third International was discussed with great animation. The reporter Pioune concluded his report with an appeal for affiliation to the Third International. Loriot introduced a number of weighty arguments in his speech in favour of the proletarian revolution. "The present moment is exceedingly favourable." stated Loriot, whilst pointing out the important role undertaken by a courageous minority in hastening the course of events. Let us mention, for instance, the complete downfall of the National Socialist Party, founded by a buffoon who shouted himself hoarse about victory (G. Herve). The orators of this party, Sevayesse, who, as a leader of the proletariat, defended the murder of Jaures, were obliged to exercise their eloquence on rows of empty chairs. . . .

In Alsace-Lorraine, under the heel of the military police authorities, the revolutionary ferment spreads with every greater force. . . . Since the expulsion of the German workers and their families and the strikes, particularly since the strike in the potash mines, the position has become so acute that the French authorities in Mulhausen found it necessary to put the town under martial law and to prohibit assemblies consisting of more than three persons. It would seem on the whole that the newly liberated Alsatians are having a glorious time of it. The workers both of Alsace and other countries are beginning to form a true appreciation of the beauties of bourgeois democracy "in peace times."

• • •

The adherents of intervention in France have been completely and irrecoverably defeated. The Soviet government has won sympathy for itself not only amongst the class conscious leaders of the proletariat but also amongst the wide masses of the workers. Besides this also the soldiers no longer want to fight, especially for the sake of the "restoration of order" . . . But amongst the renegades of the Russian revolution are certain individual who attack Bolshevism with such furious hate that it would be repulsive were it not ridiculous. We speak of Bourtzev and his "La Cause Commune," the sordid common cause of a handful of cowardly, philistines desirous of concealing their treachery! The words proclaimed at present by Bourtzev have a rather proud ring: "To Petrograd!" The results of the last socialist Congresses (the Lucerne Congress, the Congress of the Federation of the Seine, etc.) apparently, do not altogether please Mr. Bourtzev who has gone so far as to reproach Longuet, Cachin, Henderson, Hilferding, Adler, Renaudel and Tseretelli for "following in the footsteps of Lenin" (!) "From purely ulterior motives they have all quite consciously become the standard-bearers of the crowd, they are its slaves who are tremblingly afraid of its disfavour" (!) We wish to particularly emphasise the rather amusing admission on the part of the "well known observer of social life" to the effect that Bolshevism makes ever greater and greater successes in socialist spheres ("Cause Commune" of the 16th of August). Later on, this insignificant lacquey of the bourgeoisie undertakes to inform the Paris public on events in Russia. And this is what he tells it: in July he publishes a telegram from Omsk to the effect that "the Bolsheviks are completely exterminating the whole of the Bashkir population. Trotzky has become a pessimist, the Red Army has brought him to despair . . ." "Petrograd, all the inhabitants of which are threatened by certain death, will fall into the hands of the Whites like an overripe fruit from a tree." . . . To publish all this in Paris, which is generally considered as the most enlightened town of the world, at a time when the Bashkirs are defending Petrograd, when the Red Army is making successes on all four enormous fronts and when Petrograd, in one heroic effort, flings back the whole of the White Guard gangs, is something beyond mere impudence. However, the key to the riddle, for what and for whom this abominable renegade performs such amazing feats of polemical acrobatism, in some notes which bear the delusive title of "Don Coal". He proposes an "exchange". "Let us give to our Allies, true Russian people", he says, "the objects of military equipment manufactured by our factories and, in exchange they will give us the coal of which we are in such great need" In truth, the cynicism of these gentlemen knows no bounds.

America

The Bourgeoisie

Wealthy and victorious America is greatly disturbed. During the war the dominating classes thought about nothing else than their own enrichment. Now they are reaping the fruits of their policy which would seem to have been dictated by Megalomania. Abroad they are faced with a number of complicated international questions which insistently call for solution, whilst in the interior of the country, the poverty of the masses and the increasingly bad position of the working class is making social questoins menacing. The League of Nations, invented by Wilson is evidently condemned to become an international police force in the struggle against revolution. Senator Johnson, who has the unconcealed approbation of the New York inhabitants, has more than once pointed out the direct threat of new wars. Senator Johnson, of course, is not a man whom one would suspect of sympathies towards Bolshevism. In spite of this, however this is how he speaks about the League of Nations: "The question is not one of the foundation of a League of Nations against war, but on the contrary," this league must become a kind of colossal military trust . . . It has already sewn the seeds of new and horrible wars . . . By the aid of awful and unprecedented means it establishes and sanctions the domination of force". "It is in the interests of this League, that it is desired to be placed upon the United States the rôle of an international police force", exclaims Senator Johnson, later on. "If in Ireland, which possesses an undeniable right to independence, a revolution should break out, we are bound by the tenth statute of the League of Nations to facilitate the suppression of this completely legal uprising," states, in his turn, Senator Borah, whilst pointing out that, in his opinion the duty of the United States would be just the contrary, namely to give its support to the small nation insisting on its rights . . . In this manner, the most pure blooded representatives of the American bourgeoisie give open expression to their conviction that the founders of the League of Nations are striving to revive the Sacred Alliance of the monarchs of old Europe. The Philadelphia professor, Russell Smith, with equal frankness, lays stress upon the economic side of the question. "Powerful groups of French, English and American capitalists are being organized in order to dominate all the markets. This is the most horrible form of Imperialism. Sooner or later the question must arise: war or complete absence of the freedom trade". John A. Stuart predicts the inevitability of relations of friendship being formed between Russia and revolutionary Germany, and "a peace which will be constantly interrupted by new wars . . ." American capitalism, the youngest of all, the most aggressive power, is fully conscious of the danger which threatens it. This power, is fullyconscious of the danger which threatens it. It bears in itself the germs of its own disintegration and destruction.

The Economic Crisis

A few words are sufficient to outline the serious economic crisis which reigns at present in the United States. "The coal crisis threatens New York with an unprecedented catastrophe" declared specialists in the press this summer (*New York Tribune*). It was calculated that even by reducing the consumption of coal to a minimum, there would be a shortage of 40,000 tons of coal this winter. Under these conditions, an industrial crisis becomes inevitable. The causes of this coal crisis are stated to be the war and the wholesale departures from America of foreign workers to their homes.

The conditions of existence of the working population of New York have deteriorated to such an extent that even bourgeois students of the matter begin to show signs of perturbation. In the report of the New York Board of Health we read the following:

"The position is so serious that out of every five children in New York three are ill from underfeeding, and usually one of them hopelessly".

In connection with this, it is interesting to compare the profits made by some industrial groups. According to the infor-

EUGENE LEVINE-NISSEN

N. TOLMACHEV

AMERICAN COMMUNISTS

JOHN REED

MAX EASTMAN

JIM LARKIN

ROSA PASTOR STOKES

mation of *The New York American*, based upon figures of taxes and incomes, 82 groups which prior to the war received a net profit of $325,000,000, in 1916 received more than a milliard, and in 1917 $975,000,000.

Alfred W. Mac Kenna, a well known specialist on the food question, accuses the Law Courts and the Government Food organs of working together with "freebooters." Well, this is very probable.

The increase of prices on provisions such as lard, condensed milk, and butter, is artificially created by trusts which sell these same products abroad at half price (lard, for instance, for which the American consumer has to pay 60 cents per pound is sold to the English Government at 33 cents per pound).

Even certain powerful organs of the American bourgeois press now declare that the only way out of the position is the socialisation of the more important branches of industry. This socialisation, however, can be achieved only by means of a proletarian revolution, and the masses are beginning to understand this more clearly every day.

The Revolutionary Movement

The twelfth conference of the W. I. I. U. (Workers' International Industrial Union), which was formerly called the I. W. W. (The Industrial Workers of the World), recently held in New York, expressed its entire admiration of the Russian Revolution and accepted a complete Communist programme as the basis of its future work.

The report of Comrade G. Richter, which was unanimously approved by the conference, included amongst others the following argument:

"The proletariat must establish its own dictatorship in the same manner as the bourgeoisie at the present time establishes theirs." According to Comrade G. Richer, *the I. W. W. is proud of the fact that it has always conducted Bolshevist tactics.* "The American workers, he stated further,—must adopt these tactics in their struggle."

In a letter from one of our American comrades, published in the present issue of The Communist International, detailed information is given about the Communist movement in America. We will refer here only to the constant strikes in the industrial centres, the prosecution of active revolutionaries, the frequent attempts of anarchists (or so-called anarchists) and the exceedingly characteristic fact of the mobilisation of the whole police force on the day of the national holiday. Even "patriotism" feels itself safe at present only under the guardianship of police revolvers.

The Struggle Against Bolshevism

A special commission known as the Lusk Commission has been organised in America against Bolsheviks and left socialists in general. The chief sources of the Bolshevik movement in America are considered to be the socialist Rand School in New York and the Ferrer School colony, which is situated in Stellton, in New Jersey. The commission made no little noise by its alledged exposures of the activities of the representative of the Soviet government in America, Comrade Martens, and the secretary of the New York Soviet Bureau, Comrade Santerio Nuorteva, whom the commission accused of financing revolutionary propaganda in America. At the request of the president of the commission, Senator Clayton R. Lusk, our comrades in all the important towns of the United States were subjected to administrative and police prosecution. Another Senator, P. Harvan, has also made an appeal to the authorities to combat the red danger, and has demanded the expulsion of all anarchists and bolsheviks. Upon his proposal, the Senate placed the sum of $2,000,000 at the disposal of the Minister of Justice to be used specially for combatting revolutionary attempts and crimes.

The Montreal Trades and Labour Council, alarmed at the successes achieved by revolutionary propaganda has applied to the bourgeois American parties to afford it assistance in the struggle against the revolutionary movement. This assistance will, unquestionably, be afforded it.

An Attempt at Bourgeois Socialism

American newspapers recently have been much occupied with the Non-partisan League, in North Dakota, and its president, Farmer Townley, whom they accuse of bolshevist methods of organisation. "He has made himself the unrestricted dictator of the League," writes *The New York Tribune*, "thanks to his own personal influence and to the Soviet system of the government. But the class that has been organised by Townley does not represent the mass of the proletariat, but a group of landowning farmers." Thus we see an interesting attempt to introduce the methods and principles of socialism among the agricultural bourgeoisie of the United States. The Non-partisan League is the dominating organisation in the State of North Dakota. All the press and all the schools in the State are subjected to its control, which is conducted on strictly class lines. It carries on a wide mass agitation. Its programme includes the immediate formation of a United States bank, public bread storehouses, corn mills and elevators.

Up to now Townley has had recourse exclusively to purely legal measures. This "state socialism," which aims at increasing the profits of the farmers, does not, of course, in any way threaten the existing form of society in America; it leaves the wage system, with the poverty which it causes amongst the non-propertied masses of the workers in the towns and villages, quite intact, and restricts itself only to the removal of competition between the farmers. Its final aim, of course, is to intensify and to regulate capitalist exploitation. At the same time, however, it is not altogether without reason that the opponents of the league perceive in its activities an indirect recognition of the organising force of socialism.

V. S.

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